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THE ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

VOL. I

RAJENDRALALA MITRA

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VOL.I

INDIAN STUDIES
PAST & PRESENT

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Reprint

INDIAN STUDIES
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Distributors

FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAYA
6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta 12.

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Printed by Ashitabha Guha at the *Quality Printers & Binders*, 84, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta 26, and published by R. K. Maitra on behalf of *Indian Studies : Past & Present* from 3, Sambhunath Pundit St., Calcutta 20.

4159

913.54

M A.

Vol I

Price Rs. 35.00

Publication **Date** *of this Reprint*
7th July, 1961.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Rajendralala Mitra's *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol I, was published 'under orders of the Government of India' in 1875 and is being reprinted for the first time.

Except for minor typographical and other alterations, the present reprint is intended to be verbatim. The beginnings of the pages of the original edition are indicated by bold letters within square brackets.

It proved particularly difficult to reproduce the plates, for the only copy of the book with which we have been obliged to work was absurdly brittle and worn out. We are indebted to Sri Ranendra Mohan Singha for copying out a large number of these plates, a work that has called for considerable skill and an almost endless patience. Other plates could not be thus copied and had to be reproduced straight from the book. We would have perhaps given this up as a hopeless work but for the keen interest taken in it by Sri Nirode Mukherji and Sri Sudhir Mukherji, with their team of technicians of M/S. Radiant Process, Calcutta, who eventually made the reproductions possible. We cannot thank them enough. The Woodcuts of the texts have been copied by Sm. Mukti Majumdar and Sri Subhash De.

We are also thankful to Sm. Anjali Maitra for typing out the whole book and to Professor Haridas Sinharay for seeing the reprint through the press. Sri Balin Roy has been of great assistance to him.

We feel particularly happy to express our gratitude to The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, —with which of course the life and work of R. L. Mitra was inextricably bound,—for offering us ungrudging help in the matter of reprinting this book.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya
Editor, Indian Studies : Past & Present

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Corrigenda

Page 176, line 31 : "scene at Sanchi exhibits" *should be read as* "scene at Sanchi 154 exhibits"

In the body of the text, numbers indicating foot-notes from 154 to 195 should be increased by 1. Thus, e. g., page 177 line 14, the number should be 155 and not 154, as printed. In the actual footnotes, however, no change is to be made.

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Original Title-page

THE ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

By

RAJENDRALALA MITRA

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THESE ARE SOME OF THE RELICS OF THE PAST, WEEPING OVER A LOST CIVILIZATION AND AN EXTINGUISHED GRANDEUR

Vol. I.

PUBLISHED UNDER ORDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

CALCUTTA

PRINTED BY C. B. LEWIS, AT BAPTIST MISSION PRESS

1875

I. S. 7—1

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PREFACE

In 1868, the Government of India, at the suggestion of the Royal Society of Arts, London, assigned a large sum of money for the purpose of obtaining casts of some of the more important sculptures of ancient India. To carry out this object, a part of the sum was made over to the Government of Bengal, leaving it to make its own selection of the subjects, which it might think were likely to be the most interesting, and best calculated to fulfil the object of the Government. In connexion with this grant, I suggested, in reply to an enquiry of Sir William Grey, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the party of modellers and moulders which the Government was then about to send to Orissa, should proceed to Bhuvaneśvara, where it would find the oldest and most interesting specimens of Hindu architectural ornament, and added that it would be well to depute along with it a person familiar with Indian antiquarian remains, so that some historical and descriptive accounts might be secured of the several monuments from which casts would be taken. My suggestions were approved by the Bengal Government, and I was directed to accompany, as archaeologist, the party of moulders, draftsmen and photographers which was sent down to Bhuvaneśvara in the winter of 1868-69. The following pages are the result of my labours in connexion with this mission.

In prosecuting my researches I had a two-fold object in view ; in the first place to carry out the directions of the late Lord Canning, as laid down in his memorable resolution on the antiquities of India, that is to say, to secure "an accurate description,—illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions—of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them" ; and in the second place to notice permanently such points in them as were calculated to throw any special light on the social history of the ages to which they referred. For this purpose, Sir Gardner Wilkinson's learned work on the *Ancient Egyptians* has served me for a guide.

With a view to avoid repetitions and references to fragmentary remarks interspersed under different heads, the work has been divided into two parts ; the first comprising general observations on the nature and character of the objects noticed ; and the second, detailed descriptions of those objects ; the former embracing only those characters which are common to particular classes, and the latter the peculiarities of individual relics. Thus, in the Introduction, an attempt has been made to put together the information

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available regarding Orissa in ancient authors, reserving notices of particular localities for treatment under their respective heads ; so in the first Chapter, the history of Indian architecture has been discussed without reference to the dates of the different caves and temples which constitute the principal subjects of description. In the second Chapter I have given a brief summary of the general principles of Orissan temple architecture, apart from special characteristics of any particular temple. The third has for its subject sculpture and architectural ornamentation, so far as the same can be illustrated from objects now extant. In the fourth I have attempted a sketch of the social condition of the temple-builders of Orissa from their sculptural decorations. The fifth Chapter comprises an outline of the history of the several systems of religion which have influenced the growth of Orissan art.

In the second volume, the first Chapter has been devoted to the antiquities of the Khaṇḍagiri Hills ; the second to the temples of Bhuvaneśvara ; the third to those of Puri ; the fourth to those of Koṇārak and Satyabādi ; and the fifth to those of Darpaṇa, Jājapur, ĀIti and other places of minor importance.

In the course of compiling this work I have derived assistance from several gentlemen, to whom I wish to avail myself of the present opportunity publicly to tender my thanks. H. H. Locke, Esq., Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, has helped me most materially in a variety of ways. When I was proceeding on my tour, he placed at my disposal the services of one of his best pupils, Annadāprasād Bāgcī, who accompanied me to Orissa, and took sketches and plans of a large number of interesting objects. On the return of the mission from Orissa, Mr. Locke caused drawings to be prepared of all the casts that had been brought to Calcutta, and allowed me free access to them. Most of the lithographic illustrations of this work have been prepared by his pupils, and the labour and trouble he has undergone in superintending their execution have been immense. Some of the illustrations could not be satisfactorily executed from the drawings and plans which I had brought, and he had, therefore, to get models prepared by his pupils, and finish the illustrations from photographs taken from those models. He also placed at my disposal a series of ground plans of Udayagiri caves which he had prepared for his own use, and allowed me access to his splendid collection of photographs of Orissan antiquities. He has been, moreover, in frequent correspondence with me regarding the text, the greater part of which he has read in proof with a view fully to discuss the several questions raised in it. The suggestions and hints which he has afforded me in course of this correspondence, have enabled me to avoid many errors and mistakes which would have otherwise disfigured the pages of this work. The assistance was rendered often under very trying circumstances—while labouring under ill-health, or overwhelmed with official work ; and I feel deeply grateful to him for the same. In justice to him, and to prevent misconception, I must add, however, that though I have freely consulted him in all matters in which I had doubts, and derived much benefit from his advice, the opinions expressed in this work are entirely my own, and it is possible that he may differ from at least some of them.

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The printing of most of the lithographs has been done under the superintendence of Captain J. Waterhouse, R. E., Surveyor General of India, and my acknowledgements are specially due to him for the collotypes of the Udayagiri friezes which he very obligingly prepared for me.

My thanks are also due to H. C. Levinge, Esq., Superintending Engineer of the Behar Irrigation Works, for a set of eighteen negatives, several of which have been used in the illustration of this work. To John Beames, Esq., C. S., Collector of Cuttack, and Joseph Armstrong, Esq., C. S., Collector of Puri, I owe the originals from which the maps of Cuttack and Puri have been printed; and I am also indebted to Babu Raṅgalāla Banurji, Deputy Magistrate, Cuttack, the Honorable Kristodas Pāl and Bābu Pratāpacandra Ghosha for much valuable assistance and information.

Owing to my protracted indisposition, to the paucity of competent lithographers in Calcutta, and to other causes which it is needless here to recount, the publication of this work has been greatly delayed. Even now it can be brought out only in parts. This I regret much, though I believe that apology is unnecessary where there is no probability of complaint.

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INTRODUCTION

[1] Neither Gaṇeśa, the Hindu patron of wisdom, nor Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, seems ever to have paid any encouragement to history, and as a consequence, Indian literature is almost void of all authentic historical records. Twice ten thousand volumes[1] even now attest the literary activity of the Indian votaries of those divinities, and almost every branch of ancient learning has had its earnest and most devoted cultivators. Nor are the works we allude to, bearing in mind their age, in any way wanting in value as monuments of antiquity, profound erudition, and superior intelligence. In antiquity the *Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*, as the earliest record of the Aryan race extant, holds a higher rank than even the oldest writings of the Jewish race. In general excellence, the *Rāmāyaṇa* yields not the palm of superiority to the *Iliad* of Homer. And in depth of knowledge and subtlety of argument the Darśanas of India bear no unfavourable comparison to those of the greatest philosophers of ancient Greece.[2] The Grammar of Pāṇini stands unrivalled and unique in its own line ; and in astronomy, mathematics logic and rhetoric, in romance and legends, in law and civil polity, in medicine, music and dramatic composition, there is an extent of ancient literature still existing, the like of which can nowhere be met with, except perhaps in Rome and China.[3] Yet India never produced a Xenophon or a Thucydides, and her heroes and their mighty exploits, her greatness and her early civilization, where they live, live but in song.

Again, the Indian sages strove hard to develop a thoroughly scientific system of chronology, and many learned, elaborate and intricate schemes for calculating the lapse of time are to this day current to bear witness to their energy and ability ; but there are very few ancient books which bear authentic dates, or, bearing them, give the dates of contemporary or previous historical occurrences.

Nor are the shortcomings of the written history of India supplied by her ancient monuments. The ravages of time and of her climate, the hostility of rival sectaries and governments, and the iconoclastic zeal of Moslem fanatics, have swept away most of them from the face of the earth, and the few that remain can ill tell their tale with sufficient precision to meet the requirements of the historian. To quote the language of Sir Thomas Browne, "oblivion reclineth on her pyramids, gloriously triumphing, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh

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1 The total number of Sanskrit works extant does not probably exceed fourteen thousand ; the rest are made up of Pali, Prakrit, and Māgadhi (Jain) compositions. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall estimates the number of Sanskrit works extant at ten thousand.

2. Victor Cousin, one of the greatest thinkers of the age, has somewhere said, "The history of Indian philosophy is the abridged history of the philosophy of the world".

3. The ancient literature of Egypt was once vast, but it has long since ceased to exist.

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before her cloud. The traveller, as he passeth amazingly through those deserts, asketh of her, who builded them ; and she mumbleth something, but what it is, he heareth not".[4]

The prospect thus of the historian of India is far from being promising. There is, however, no limit to human inquiry ; and much may be done by diligence and industry even in fields which appear at first sight to be gloomy and forbidding. Moreover, every literature, however fabulous or mythical may be its character, has a historical value, and that of India cannot be an exception. Tales, traditions and romances, the ordinances of kings and the mandates of lawgivers, the rituals of religion and the musings of poets, must all take their tone and character from the state of society in which they are developed, and cannot but serve, imperfectly though it be, as annals of civilization. In the same [2] way, almost every monument or carved stone, every ornament or utensil, however rude, or monstrous or grotesque may be its design, bears on its face an index to the intellectual condition of some individual or community, and may be made, with proper care, to yield an acceptable contribution to the cause of history. And inasmuch as such materials are by no means wanting in this country, though they lie scattered, unknown, or neglected, covered by the shroud of dead languages, or buried under the rubbish of ages, there is yet room for hope. From their peculiar nature, such materials may be expected most in isolated places, which have been comparatively little exposed to the tide of foreign invasion. There they are least subject to external, religious, moral and social influences, and are better able to retain their original character than in the great seats of commerce where many nations constantly come into familiar contact.

The Province of Orissa is a place of this description. Cut off from the rest of India by ranges of hills and inhospitable wilds on the one side, and hemmed in by the sea on the other, it enjoyed perfect immunity for a long time from the inroads of the Muhammadans, and even in its worst days did not suffer so much as the rest of India. Commerce it had next to none, and its people lived happily and contented for ages under a national government, with every opportunity to cultivate the arts of peace, and to promote the prosperity of their fatherland. The ancient monuments it contains are therefore, more authentic than what are to be met with in most other parts of India, and, as such, have a peculiar interest and significance for the antiquarian. The greater part of the ground is all but a *terra incognita* to oriental explores ; but few comparatively have ventured upon it, and then only upon its borders as it were, to confirm a foregone opinion, or indulge a momentary curiosity ; so that the important question of its archaeology remains, for all practical purposes, unanswered to this hour.[5]

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4. Fragment on Mummies, *Works*, IV. 273, ed. 1836.

5. Since the above was written, Dr. Hunter's invaluable work on Orissa has thrown a flood of new light on the subject. With the solitary exception of Rajasthan in Tod's *Annals*, no province of India has had the benefit of so able, so brilliant and so masterly an historian,

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Even the origin of its very name is involved in doubt. Unquestionably the word Orissa is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Oḍra-deśa*, the country of the Oḍras or Uḍras ; but who the Oḍras were, remains yet to be determined. According to grammarians the word Oḍra is derived from the root *uḍ*, "to embrace" ; but this derivation does not in any way serve to elucidate how the province came to be so designated. According to some, it is a compound of the prefix *ā*, "slight increase" and the root *undi* "to soil" with the affix *raka*, the *d* being changed to *ḍ*, meaning "the country of the dirty people", the Uriyās being, in the estimation of the Bengalis, unmindful of cleanliness ; but the derivation, on the face of it, appears so fanciful that it may be at once rejected as an afterthought. Lassen takes it to be a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *uttara* "north"—the northern country. [6] A common ornamental plant with large bright red flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis* [7]) is in Sanskrit named *Oḍra*, and it has been alleged that the province derives its name from the plant, "the land of hibiscus flower", in the same way that India is called Jambudvīpa "the island of the *Jām* fruit "from the *Eugenia jambolana* which is said to have been at one time very widely spread over the country. I do not, however, remember to have noticed the hibiscus or shoe-flower as particularly abundant in those parts of the Puri and Cuttack districts through which I have passed, and, though greatly esteemed by the Uriyās under the name of *mandāra*, or the representative on earth of the fabled *pārijāta* [8] of Indra's heaven, it does not appear to form by any means a prominent feature in the flora of Orissa. It is not likely, therefore, that the province should be named after the plant. In the Institutes of Manu mention is made of a tribe of men named Oḍras who were originally Kṣatriyas, [9] but who were degraded and deprived of the privileges of their caste for non-observance of religious rites. They are put under the same class as the Pauṇḍras, Drāviḍas, Kāmbojas (Afghan), Yavanas, Śakas (Scythians), and other aboriginal or non-Aryan races. [10] The *Mahābhārata*, in the *Harivaṃśa Parva*, names them along with the Surāṣṭras, Bāhlikas, Madras, Ābhiras, Bhojas, Pāṇḍyas Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmrali ptakas, Pauṇḍras, Vāmāculas and the Keralas,—most, if not all of whom were [3] either aboriginal or non-Aryan. [11] In the same way the *Rāmāyaṇa* [12] reckons them along with a great number of barbarous races, none of whom found a place within the pale of pure Brahmanism, and it may be fairly concluded that they were a race of aborigines

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6. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I. p. 186.

7. Wilson takes it to be the *Hibiscus mutabilis*, but on no reliable authority. The *mutabilis* is not near so common in Orissa as the *rosa sinensis*.

8. In Bengal the *Erythrina indica* represents the *pārijāta*.

9. Colebrooke, on the authority of the *Jātimālā* given in the *Rudrajāmala Tantra*, makes them degraded Brāhmaṇas. *Essays* II. 179.

10. *Manu*, X. 44.

11. *Harivaṃśa*, v. 12, 838.

12. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, I. p. 374. *Mahābhārata*, I. p. 350. Goressio's *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 38. *Ibid*, IV. 55.

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like the Coles, Bheels, Khonds and other primitive races, and the province was named, as supposed by Sterling, after its inhabitants, "the country of the Oḍra race". If this inference be tenable, it would afford a curious clue to the meaning of the second name, *Utkala*, by which the province is known to Sanskrit writers.[13] Mediaeval etymologists take it to be a compound of *ut* "above," or an expletive, and *kal* "to go", meaning "one who travels with a load", "a porter," and secondarily Uriyās who are extensively employed even to this day as load-carriers and *pālki*-bearers. The root *kal* also means "to sound indistinctly", and some imagine that it has been used to indicate the imperfect sounds of Uriyā speech.[14] Both these derivations are, however, fanciful, and we must look to other than the Sanskrit for the true radicals of the word under notice. *Oḍra* is by far the most extensively used term for the Uriyās, and its vernacular form is *Oḍ*, or *Uḍ*, both according to the rules of the Prakrit grammar and popular usage. If this, as a specific tribal designation, be added to *Kola*, the generic name for the aborigines, we get Uṭkola "a *kola* of the *Oḍ* or *Uḍ* class", the sonant *ḍ* being required by a well-known euphonic law to change to the surd *ṭ*. The subsequent conversions of *uṭ* into *ut* and *Kola* into *kala* are the results of phonetic decay, or vernacular corruption and regeneration of which innumerable examples may easily be adduced. In corroboration of this derivation it may be observed that in Sanskrit, *Utkala* means a bird-

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13. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, II. 1 to 11. It is related in the *Harivaṃśa* that Manu once offered a sacrifice to Mitra and Varuṇa, with a prayer for progeny, and the result was a beautiful maiden, Iḍā or Ilā, who issued forth from the fire dressed in exquisite apparel, and adorned with a profusion of ornaments. A quarrel thereupon arose as to who should possess her, and it was ultimately decided that she should change her sex, and alternately become a man and a woman. In her feminine capacity she abided with Budha, son of the Moon (Soma), and became the mother of Purūravas; and as a man, under the name of Sudyumna, she had three sons, the eldest of whom Ūtkala, got Orissa, the second Gaya became the master of Gayā, and the third Vinatāśva was invested with the sovereignty of the Western country. It does not appear, however, that the son of Sudyumna gave his name to the country. *Harivaṃśa*, Chap. 10.

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives this story with slight variations, and the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā Purāṇas* attribute the change of sex to a malediction of Śiva.

14. Sterling says it means "the famous portion", and some of his Paṇḍits elaborated this into the region famous in the Kali Yuga for its temples and Kṣetras. *As. Rs.* XV. 166. Mr Beames derives it from *ut* "out" and *kala* "a strip" an "out-lying strip", but doubting the applicability of the second term, he adds "in classical Sanskrit we have only *kalā* fem., but the masculine must also have been in use, as is shown by numerous forms in the modern languages". *Proceedings*, *Asiatic Society*, *Bengal*, 1870, p. 193. Some suppose that the word *kūla* "shore", is probably one of the components of Utkala, but I have nowhere seen the conjecture developed. Others derive it from *utka* and *lāti*.

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catcher, a term which is peculiarly appropriate to a *kola* (*Anglice Cole*), whether of the *Oḍ* or any other tribe. According to Colnel Wilford, Utkala is equal to *udkala*, and"implies the great and famous country of Cola" ;[15] it is the same with the "*Encolla*" of Nonnius mentioned in his *Dionysiacs*. [16] Dr. Hunter, in his Dissertation on the non-Aryan Languages of India, accepts *Oḍ* to be the archetype of *Oḍra*, and then points out its previous transmutations through three different stages. "The specific term for man among a large section of the Indian aborigines is", he observes, "*ha* or *ho*, lengthening through the *Visarga* into *haḥ*, has, *haḍ* (*har*) *hoḍ* (*hor*)". Dropping the *h* of the last by a process of cockneyism of which instances may be met with in many Indian vernaculars and notably in that of Dacca, where the common people are as averse to pronounce the initial *h* as a London labourer, the remnant is *Oḍ* "whence, *Oḍra*, *Uriyā*, *Urihay*, *Oḍāoñ*", etc. [17] He takes *kala*, however, to be also a modification of *ho*, and if this be admitted, the question arises as to how the same word should occur in two such markedly different forms as *ut* and *kala* in the compound *Utkala*. Two diametrically opposite series of changes of one word cannot simultaneously go on in one language, and it is not at all likely that the result of one of them should be adopted to imply a generic idea, and that of the other the differentia. It seems probable, therefore, that the *ka* series of race names are independent of the *ho* series ; or, what is more probable, the Brāhmaṇic races who first came in contact with the Coles in Upper and Central India, used it as a generic term, [4] and when they met the *Oḍs* in Orissa, named them as a separate tribe of the Coles—"the Oḍ Coles". This is a question, however, which does not call for any lengthened discussion in this place. It is enough for our purpose here that *Oḍ* is generally supposed to be a tribal designation, and what is of greater importance, that this supposition is not a mere conjecture, but is fully borne out by tangible living evidence. In many parts of Orissa and particularly in the Pargannah of Khurdā there exists to this day a race of agriculturists or *cāṣās* who profess to be Hindus, and are in no way different in their physical characteristics from the general population, but who are shunned by all their neighbours as degraded beings, and obliged to live by themselves in separate communities, having their own separate Brāhmaṇ priests, and peculiar customs, and social observances. Although *cāṣās* by name, they are looked down upon as the lowest of the low even by the *telis* and other castes who, according to the *Paurāṇic* gradation, should themselves be lower. These men, like the fallen Moslim population of Bengal, or the oppressed Bhumiyās of Chutia-Nāgpur, consider themselves the real proprietors of the soil, and have a clear impression that the Rājās of Orissa were mere usurpers of a country which once belonged to them ; and Saralādāśa, a mediaeval Uriyā poet, supports their pretension in his translation of the *Mahābhārata* by describing Orissa as the kingdom of the *Oḍs*, *Oḍ rāṣṭra*. An equivalent term, *Oḍ Maṇḍala*, is also of common occurrence in old ballads. These Oḍs cultivate sugarcane,

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15. *Asiatic Researches* IX. 72.
16. Nonni *Dionys.* Lib. XXVI. 26, 244, *apud* Wilford.
17. *Comparative Dictionary*, &c., 24.

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and carry burdens on bullocks, which no other Uriyās, particularly those living south of the Brāhmaṇī river, can do without losing their caste. Among the Māhintis and other Uriyā tribes, the woman throw off their brass *khārus* or bracelets, as soon as they can afford to purchase ornaments of more precious metals, but the wives of these agriculturists, whether rich or poor, are all required to wear them as long as their husbands are living, in the same way as Bengali women wear an iron bracelet, or a bit of iron twined round with a piece of gold wire, during the life time of their husbands. On occasions of public feasts, I understand from Bābu Candraśekhara Banurji, for a long time Deputy Collector of Cuttack, these people observe peculiar customs unknown to their neighbours. They spread a large mat made of the root of the *bena* or *khaskhas*, and heap thereon a quantity of a kind of baked rice called *hurum*. Everybody present, whether rich or poor, great or low, must sit around this heap, and eat a handful of it before partaking of any other food. Although Hindus by profession they have no caste distinction, and the four different tribes into which they are divided intermarry without offence. These tribes are severally known as, 1st *dahi-kalasā*, owners of the curd-jar, or men who rear cattle and sell curds ; 2nd *pendākalasā*, keepers of gruel jar or, men who live on sour gruel ; 3rd, *śūkaralachā*, or swine-herds ; and 4th *benatiyā*, or dwellers in *khaskhas* bushes but their common designation is *Oḍ* or *Oḍ-cāṣā*, and we cannot but accept them as the remnants of the original inhabitants who gave their name to the province.

The prevalence of the *Oḍ* race in Khurdā, and the prominent position which that district occupies in the history of Orissa, suggest the idea of its having been at one time the capital of the *Oḍ* dominion. But how far that dominion extended, it is impossible now satisfactorily to determine. According to Sterling, "the original seat of the Or or Oḍra tribe was limited by the Ṛṣikulyā river on the south, and the Kansbans on the north" ; that is the delta of the Mahānadī with a small area round about it. I cannot ascertain the authority on which he was given this boundary ; but there is no reason to doubt that it is the most probable conjecture. This limit, however, was soon exceeded, and the dominion of the Oḍra Rājās in its palmiest days extended very largely, both towards the north and the south, and to some extent also towards the west, though not so extensively. Traces are not wanting to shew that during the ascendancy of the Gaṅgāvaṃśa princes, their kingdom embraced Gour on the one side, and the whole, or at least a part, of Karṇāṭa on the other ; though the epithets "lord of nine millions" and "sovereign of Gour and Karṇāṭa" which their descendants invariably assumed were, of course, empty titles, very much like "the king of France" in the coins and medals of George the Second and some of his predecessors,[18] emblematic of some success in war, or temporary possession, but expressive of no permanent sovereignty. Certain it is, however, that for a long time "their dominion extended from a line drawn from Triveṇī Ghāt above Hugli, through Bishenpur to the frontier of Patkum on the north, and to

18. GEORGIUS II D. G. MAGN. BRIT. FR. ET. HIB. REX. FID. DEF.

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the Godavari on the south ; and from the Hugli river and the sea on the coast to a line carried from Singbhum to Sonepur, skirting Gangpur, Sambhalpur and its dependencies, through Bastar to Jayapur and the Godavari".[19] According to the *Āin i Ākbarī*, Orissa, two centuries ago, comprised the five "sircars" or district of Jelasir, Bhadrack, Cuttack, Kallendrapat and Rajmahindri.[20]

[5] The first, however, included Midnapur, Mahakaunghat, and Narainpur, and the province of Orissa, therefore, may be said to have extended from Midnapur to Raj-mahindri. According to Sterling, "at the opening of Muhammad Taki Khan's administration, A. D. 1726, who governed as the Naib or Deputy of the Nazim of the three provinces, the most authentic revenue records exhibit the Subah of Orissa as extending from a place called Radha Dewal, seven *coss* beyond the town of Midnapur, to Tikali Raghunathpur, one of the estates in or near the Mahendramāli range of hills in Ganjam, a computed distance of 176 *coss* ; and on the west from False Point to the Bermul Pass, reckoned at *coss* eighty-five.[21] Its nothern limits was, however, never well settled ; it advanced or receded according as the Muhammadan *subahdars* of Bengal proved weak or powerful, and the success of border warfare told in favour of the Uriyās or their neighbours. A little before the time when the East India Company assumed the Dewany of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the northern boundary of the last named province was the south of the Rūpanārāyaṇ River, and that was probably its extreme limit to the north ; for it is up to that line that the Uriyā dialect was always current, until pressed back to the bank of the Subarṇarekhā when Midnapur was transferred to the commissionership of Burdwan. Its southern boundary was, likewise, never permanently fixed, and oscillated between the Cilkā lake and the banks of the Godāvarī. But it seems never to have been reduced to shorter limits than the Subarṇarekhā River on the one side, and the Cilkā Lake on the other. "Certain it is," says Mr. Sutton, "that within these limits, at the present day, the Uriyā language is spoken in its greatest purity, and Uriyā manners and customs, weights and measures, everywhere prevail ; while to the north of these limits, the Bengali accent and terminations to some nouns and verbs are current, just as on the south of Ganjam, the Uriyās vary their pronounciation of certain words after the fashion of the Telingas or Telegus.[22]

It is impossible now to determine when Orissa first came to be known to the Aryan Indians. Its name does not occur in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. But the province was not then altogether unknown. It then formed, as it did for centuries afterwards, a part of the great maritime province, including the Deltas of the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, of Kaliṅga, the name of which occurs in connection with the origin of the sage Kakṣīvat,

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19. *Asiatic Researches*, XV. p. 164.
20. Gladwin's *Āin i Ākbarī*, II. 192.
21. *As. Res.* XV. p. 165.
22. *Orissa and its Evangelization*, p. 16. Vide *passim*, Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 183 and Dr. Hunter's *Orissa*, I. p, 171.

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who was the son of Dīrghatamas by the wife of the king of Kaliṅga.[23] Pāṇini is also silent about both Utkala and Oḍradeśa. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as already shewn, the Oḍras, as a race, are mentioned, and the name of their country is likewise given as distinct from that of the race. The *Mahābhārata*, in the same way, not only names the race, and in the *Sabhā Parva* describes a present of ivory given by one of its kings to the Pāṇḍus, but also alludes to the designation of his country. But it does not seem to have been, at the time, held in any great estimation ; it was described as a wild place, and its people were barbarians, ignorant of the rituals of the Vedas. In the middle of the third century before Christ, the country had risen to considerable importance ; and Aśoka, Emperor of India, deemed it desirable to publish edicts among its inhabitants, and to inscribe them on the scarps of its hills.[24] But neither in his records, nor in the minor Pali inscriptions in the caves of Khaṇḍagiri is there any mention made of either Oḍra or Utkala. Buddhism, at that time, was on the ascendant in the place, and a great number of monasteries and temples were erected to supply the religious wants of the people. The country was, then and for some time previously, included under the generic title of Kaliṅga or the coast country, the kings of which were Buddhists, and caused several of the caves to be excavated.

[6] At that time, and probably from an earlier period in the history of India, the shores of the peninsula were divided into three parts ; first the Malabar Coast ; 2nd the Coramaṇḍala or the Coromandel coast ; and 3rd, Kaliṅga or the Bengal coast. The last was again subdivided, according to Pliny, into three regions, viz., Colingo, Modocolingo (Madhya-Kaliṅga) and Macco-colingo (Maga-Kaliṅga). The first extended from Ganjam or lower down to the Ganges, and was probably the locale of Mount Maleus and the Orites.[25] The second, says Pliny, is a very large island in the Ganges : it included no doubt the whole of the Gangetic estuary from the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī to that of the Padmā, opposite Sandip. The last was meant for the eastern coast from Sandip to Arracan, most probably the "golden Chersonese" of the Grecian writers and the *Suwanna-bhumi* of the Burmese. This sub-division of Kaliṅga has, however, long since become obsolete, and the name itself has been confined to the tract of country lying between Cuttack and Madras—a tract which, in Muhammadan works and modern maps, is variously designated as the Northern Circars or Telingānā. Thus, we find it described in one of the *Tantras*[26] as lying between Jagannāth and the Krishnā river ; and in the *Raghuvaṃśa* it is said to have been situated to the south of Utkala. The *Tantra* in question makes Telingānā begin from Jagannāth on the east, *Jagannāthāt pūrvabhāgāt*, which shows that at least a considerable portion of Cuttack was at its time included within Kaliṅga, and the date of the work cannot be older than the

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23. Müller's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 57.

24. The inscriptions will be noticed in their proper places under the head of Khaṇḍagiri.

25. Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* II. 75.

26. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra.*

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seventh century of the Christian era. Colebrooke places Kaliṅga on the banks of the Godāvarī, but says nothing as to how far it extended to the north. [27]

Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* does not extend to beyond Cape Comorin, but in the Sequel to it, there is an account given of the navigation of the Bay of Bengal along the coast to Arracan. No mention is made in it of Utkala, Kaliṅga or Oḍra-deśa. It is said, however, that proceeding "from Masalia", modern Masulipatam, where a great quantity of the finest muslin is prepared, "the course lies eastward, across a bay, to Desarene where the ivory is procured of that species called *bosare*", and then passing in a northerly direction by the country of a number of barbarous tribes "the course turns again east, and sailing with the coast on the left, and the sea on the right, you arrive at the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called *khruse*" [or the Golden Chersonese]. [28]

The Desārene of this extract Dr. Vincent supposes, and very reasonably, to be no other than the coast of Orissa stretching from Masulipatam to Balasore, and it is remarkable that the article for which it is noted is the same for which the *Mahābhārata* gives it credit, namely, ivory, which was the most acceptable present which the king of the Oḍras could take to the Pāṇḍu sovereign.[29] According to Wilford, however, the Desārene of Arrian was formed of "ten forest cantons"—*daśa araṇya*—comprising the modern district of Chutia Nāgpur. He says "Ptolemy considers the Cocila and Brāhmaṇī rivers as one, which he calls *Adamas* or diamond river, and to the Mahānadī, he gives the name of *Dosaron.* He is, however, mistaken ; the Mahānadī is the diamond river, and his Dosaron consists of the united streams of the Brāhmaṇī and the Cocila".[30] Professor Wilson goes further, and places it in the Chatisgarh district on the strength of a passage in the *Meghadūta*, which describes the wild tribe of the Daśārṇas as dwelling to the north of the Vindhyan chain in the way of the Messenger cloud from Rāmgiri to Kailāsa [31] On the one hand, this identification carries a country avowedly on the sea-coast too far inland ; on the other, if Desārene be the Greek corruption of the Daśārṇa of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the authority of the *Meghadūta* cannot be for a moment questioned. It is true that in geographical accuracy the Sequel is inferior to the first portion of the *Periplus*, and probably it was written from information received by Arrian from native mariners of Southern, or Western, India ; still it is difficult to believe that he was so far misled as to leave the Orissa coast, which was then in a highly flourishing condition, and had extensive intercourse with the people of Southern India, altogether out of view, and to notice a district which never rose to any great celebrity, and was over two hundred

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27. *Essays* II. 179.
28. Vincent's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, II. p. 475.
29. Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 180.
30 *As. Researches*, XIV. p. 405.
31. Lo ! where awhile the Swans reluctant cower ;
Daśārṇa's fields await the coming shower.
Wilson's *Meghadūta*, p. 30.

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miles away from the coast. The difficulty, however may be met by supposing that Arrian alluded to the river Dosaron of Ptolemy—the Mahānadī—and not to the savage tribe named in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The commentators of the *Meghadūta* derive Daśārṇa from *daśa* "ten," *ṛṇa* "a citadel," the district of ten citadels ; [32] and of citadels of little *gharis* there is no lack in the southern parts of Orissa. If we accept Wilford's derivation of "ten forests," still it would not be necessary to proceed so far as Chutia Nagpur in search of them. The Sundarban which flourishes from a little above Koṇārak to Balasore affords as extensive a range of forest land as any to be met with in the wildest part of Sirgujāh, and to it the name of Daśāraṇya may be applied with every propriety.

[7] The "ivory" mentioned in the extract is supposed by Dr. Vincent to refer to the horn of the rhinoceros. The words in the original are *elephanta ton Legomenon Bosare*, and the true import of the sentence depends uopn the word *Bosare*. Now, if *bos* be taken for a bull or a bovine animal, and *are* a corruption of the Sanskrit *araṇya*, the result will be the *Arṇa-gāo* or gour, *Bos gourus*, the enormous horns of which would no doubt be an object of great curiosity and in every way worthy of notice in a book of travels, or of presentation to a sovereign in a distant country. Dr. Taylor supposes the *Bosare* to mean the *Bos indicus*, or the buffalo ; [33] but as that animal was in the time of the *Mahābhārata*, as it is now, very common all over India, its horns could not have been of such value as to be an acceptable present to Yudhiṣṭhira. The range of the gour, on the other hand, was probably confined to the western parts of Orissa, extending little beyond Chutia Nāgpur, and its horns may therefore be supposed to have been a rarity at Delhi. It is possible however, that the *Mahābhārata* alluded to real ivory, which was then, as it is now, abundant in Orissa, and Arrian referred to it, or to some product of an animal of elephantine proportions, but of bovine character. Rhinoceroses were abundant in northern India even down to the time of Baber Shah, and could not have been a rarity during the reign of the Pāṇḍus.

Little is to be met with about Orissa in the Sanskrit literature of the first four or five centuries of the Christian era. In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, Kālidāsa makes Raghu cross the Kapiśā river by a bridge of elephants, and then proceed to Kaliṅga under the guidance of a king of the Oḍras.[34] In the charming drama of *Ratnāvalī*, a work of a later age, we find a princess of Ceylon wrecked on the Orissa coast ; but there is no description of the place given in it, and even doubts may be entertained as to whether the poet intended to allude to Orissa or to Kaliṅga further down.

In the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, a work of the middle of the sixth century, repeated mention is made of Orissa in connexion with the effect of eclipses under particular conjunctions ; thus it is said "the Pañcālas, Kaliṅgas, Surasenas, Kāmbojas, Oḍras, Kirātas, as well as men who follow the profession of arms, or work by fire (smiths), suffer from

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32. "The people of the ten forts subsequently multiplied to thirty-six, such being the import of Chatisgurh, which seems to be the site of Daśārṇa". Wilson.

33. *Journal* As. Soc. XVI, p. 10.

34. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV. 38.

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illness if an eclipse takes place when the sun or moon is in Aries". [35] Again, "an eclipse in the month of Caitra causes distress to painters, writers, and singers, to men who live by their beauty, to Vaidic scholars, gold merchants, the Pauṇḍras, Oḍras, Kekayas, and Aśmakas ; in that year the lord of the immortals distributes rain unequally" [36]

Fa Hien, the Chinese traveller of the 4th century, seems not to have visited Orissa. After his peregrination in Behar and Bengal, he started for Ceylon from Tāmralipta on the mouth of the Rūpanārāyaṇa ; but Hiouen Thsang, two centuries after him, closely following his route, arrived at Tan-mo-li-ti, the Tāmralipti of the Hindus and the Tamalites of classical writers, modem Tamluk, [37] at a time when that town contained a dozen Buddhist convents and ten thousand monks. It had several memorial *stūpas*, one of which was 200 feet high, and was said to have been built by Aśoka. The district in which it was situated bore the same name, and measured about 250 miles in circumference. After a short sojourn there, he proposed to go to Ceylon. "Wishing to start, he met an Indian monk of the south, who gave him the following advice : 'In going to the kingdom of the Lion (Siṃhala) it is not necessary to undergo a long sea voyage during which the winds are contrary, the currents impetuous, and the *Yo-tcha (yakṣas* "demons") expose one to a thousand dangers. It would be better for him to start from a south-east point of Southern India : by that way he may arrive by water in the space of three days. Even though you may be obliged to ascend mountains

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35. Kern's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 29.

36. *Ibid.* p. 36.

37. The directions given by Hiouen Thsang are not very precise ; but there is no reason to doubt the identification of Tan-mo-li-ti with modern Tamluk. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* describe the Tāmraliptakas as an aboriginal tribe, living to the south of the Pauṇḍras, and they on their turn lived to the south of Cāmpā or Bhāgalpur, and Bhīma encountered them in this order. This arrangement would make the Pauṇḍras occupy Bīrabhūm and parts of Burdwan where there are still some remains of the Pauṇḍras in the bastard Hindu Pāns. The Tāmraliptakas accordingly should occupy the whole of the Howra district and undeterminate portions of Hugli, Midnapur and Burdwan districts. The dominion of the latter in the time of the Chinese traveller comprised an area *"á environ de quatorze a quinze cents li de tour"*. *"Ceroyaume est situé sur une bale et 'on y va par eau et par terre. On y trouve en quantité des marchandises rares et précieuses. C'est pourquoi les habitants de ce royaume sont en général riches et opulents"*. In referring to such a tract, the bearings and distances must vary considerably according as the boundary of the province or its capital is intended. The capital, which, in the time of Hiouen Thsang, had a circumference of 10 *lis*, was situated on the sea shore—*"sur les bords de la mer"*, and bearing in mind how land has accreted near the mouth of the Hugli, it would not be presumptuous to suppose that Tamluk formerly was on the sea-board. Indeed it may be with some plausibility questioned if the site of Tamluk was dry land eleven hundred years ago.

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and traverse valleys, you will accomplish your trip in safety. At the same time you will have an opportunity of visting the sacred monuments of *Ou-tchā (Oudra*—Orissa) and other kingdoms'. [38]

"The pilgrim, thereupon, proceeded to the south-west, and arrived at the kingdom of *Ou-tchā* (Ouḍa). There are a hundred monasteries containing nearly ten thousand monks, who study the law of the *Great Translation.* There are also many heretics who frequent the temples of the *devas, (devālayas*). The followers of error and of the truth live pell-mell. There may be seen [8] a dozen *stūpas* built by the king Wou-yeou (Aśoka) on which are oftentimes refulgent the most extraordinary prodigies",[39] Hiouen Thsang's biographer, Hoei-li, says little of Orissa beyond Hiouen Thsang's having there met a doctor of the *Little Translation*, named Pradjñāgupta, who had written a treatise in 700 verses on the doctrine he followed, and of his having refuted him in a treatise of 1000 verses which he wrote for the purpose. But Hiouen Thsang himself, in his journal, the *Siyuki* (lib. x. p. 10), supplies the following description of the province: "Ou-tchā (Ouḍa, Oḍra, Orissa, East India.) This kingdom is seven thousand *lis* (1150 miles) circuit; the circumference of the capital is 20 *lis*=3½ miles. The soil is rich and fertile, and the cereals are produced in abundance. In general, the fruits are much larger than those of other kingdoms; it is very difficult to enumerate all the rare plants and the remarkable flowers that one sees there. One sees at all times a sweet colour. The people are in their manner ferocious, of tall stature, and of black complexion. Their language is pure and harmonious, and differs altogether from that of central India. They devote themselves to the study of the *Little Translation* with much and indefatigable ardour according to the law of Buddha. There are a hundred monasteries, and one may count nearly ten thousand monks, all of whom study the doctrine of the *Great Translation* (Mahāyāna). There are fifty temples of the gods. The heretics live pell-mell with the orthodox".[40]

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38. St. Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, p. 183.

39. "Le Maitre de la loi se dirigea au sud-ouest et arriva au royaume de Ou-tech'ā (Ouḍa). Il y a une centaine de couvents ou l'on compte environ dix mille religieux qui étudient la loi du *grand Véhicule*; il y a aussi des hérétiques qui fréquent ent les temples des *devas (devālays*). Les partisans de l' erreur et la vérité demeurent pele-mele. On voit une dizaine de *stoūpas* batis par le roi *Wou-yeou* (Aśoka) ou éclatent souvent des prodiges extraordinaires".

St. Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, p. 184.

40. Ou-tcha (Ouḍa, Oḍra, Orissa, Inde oriental). Si-yu-ki. lib. X. fol. 10 "Ce royaume a sept mille li de tour; la circonférence de la capitale est de vingt li. Le sol est gras et fertile, et les grains viennent en abondance. En général, les fruits y sont plus gros que dans les autres royaumes; il serait difficile d'énumérer les plantes rares et les fleurs renommées qui y croissent. On ressent en tout temps une douce chaleur; les habitants ont des moeurs féroces, une stature élevee et le teint noir. Leur langue est

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The authorities quoted above clearly shew that Orissa was well known to the Indian Aryans from a very early period, but only as the abode of a primitive, non-Aryan, or a fallen, race. It had no reputation for sanctity, and never was thought of as a holy place of pilgrimage for the Hindus. It was first selected by the Buddhists as a very promising field for their operations, for the aboriginal races of India doubtless offered to them, as they have since proved to others, better and more pliant subjects for proselytism than the Aryans, and Aśoka gave it great importance by recording his edicts and building temples in different parts of it. The Khaṇḍagiri rock-cut caves which were excavated about that time, bear unmistakable evidence of the position which Buddhism had attained in the country, and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that for some time afterwards the bulk of the people professed the faith of Śākya Siṃha. It would from the above, follow that the people belonged to a non-Aryan race, but the vernacular character of the language of Aśoka's edicts would imply that the population for whom they were designed, were of Aryan extraction. This difficulty may be explained away, either by supposing that at the time in question, Aryan colonists had so extensively mixed with the Oḍs as to give the whole an Aryan character, or that the ancient Pali was not the vernacular of Orissa. The last supposition seems the most probable, as the Pali of the edicts, though vernacular in appearance, is all but identically the same in Tirhut, Delhi, Guzerat, and Peshāwar, the only difference noticeable being confined to the spelling of a few words, such as *lājā* for *rājā*, whilst it is impossible for the spoken language of such diverse and distant places, though proceeding from a common source, to retain its unity in the mouths of different nationalities and under dissimilar physical conditions. The Prakrits of the time of Vikramāditya, which are nothing but advanced stages of the vernaculars which had resulted from the disintegration of the original Sanskrit, show very marked differences in spelling and construction and the same may be expected in the Pali of different places. This difference being wanting, the inference, is that the edicts were designed and written out in the language current in the court at Delhi, or at Pāṭaliputra, and thence despatched for record in the different parts of Aśoka's dominion without reference to provincial peculiarities of speech, and that the variations in spelling occurred during their transition from paper or palm leaf to stone under the superintendence of local officers, and the manipulation of local artificers.

In the middle of the seventh century, Hiouen Thsang found the Brāhmaṇs on the ascendant, but Buddhism still maintaining its ground,—the heretics and the men of the law living pell-mell. Buddhism must have, however, soon after yielded to its adversary, and retired altogether from the field. The belief is pretty common that a general

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pure et harmonieuse ; elle differe de celle de l' Inde centrale. Ils se livrent a l' étude avec une ardeur infatigable et beaucoup d' entre eux suivent la loi du *Bouddha*. Il y a une centaine de couvents ou l' on compte environ dix mille religieus qui tous étudient la doctrine du *grand Véhicule* (Mahāyāna). Il y a cinquante temples des dieux. Les hérétiques habitent pele-mele etc". St. Julien's *Hiouen Thsang*, p. 425.

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persecution headed by Saṅkara Ācārya was the main cause of its disappearance, and that a long protracted war was carried on to effect that object. According to Chevalier Bunser, the Hindu priesthood "rejected Buddhism, and entered on a sanguinary persecution of its adherents, issuing in a war of extermination, such as we only find repeated once in the annals of mankind, namely, in that deadly struggle of the Romish hierarchy which ended with the yet more cruel Thirty Years' War".[41] The existence of a *maṭh* or monastery of Śaṅkara at Puri has given [9] some colouring to this theory. There is nothing, however, in the records of the Buddhists and the Hindus to support it. Volumes upon volumes have been read and analysed, but as yet without affording a single trace of anything like a protracted war between the two sects. The two lives extant of Śaṅkara are perfectly silent on the subject, and nowhere shew that that great Vedāntist and reformer ever used other than legitimate polemical weapons to overcome his opponents ; and his character of a mendicant afforded him but scant opportunities to persecute rival sectaries.[42] It is worthy of note also that his biographers, who have entered into tedious details of his peregrinations in different parts of India, do not say that he ever visited Orissa. The fact is, that even as Buddhism rose mainly by working on the religious

41. *God in History*, I. 327.

42. Professer Wilson is of opinion that "it is a popular error to ascribe to Śaṅkara, the work of persecution : he does not appear at all occupied in that odious task, nor is he engaged in particular controversy with any of the Bauddhas : the more prominent objects of his opposition are the Mīmāṃsakas as represented by Maṇḍana Miśra, with whom he holds a long and rather acrimonious discussion, and the Naiyāyikas, and Sāṅkhyas ; and the vulgar sects of Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas are alike the objects of his opposition ; he is especially hostile to the latter, and particularly to the Kāpālikas, a class of Śaiva worshippers, who again are his most active enemies, and on one occasion assail his existence.

"He comes in personal contact with the Bauddhas, indeed, according to our authority, in but two instances : the first is a short conference with an Ārhata, who advocates the Mādhyamika doctrines, or those of a Bauddha sect, and which is held in the Bāhlika country, a region identified by name and geographical position with the modern Balkh ; and the second happens in Kāśmīr, where amongst the many sects who oppose Śaṅkara's access to the temple of Sarasvatī, a short time before his death, the Bauddhas make their appearance. Besides the positive conclusion presented by these circumstances that Śaṅkara was not engaged actively in any personal conflict with the followers of the Bauddha schism, we derive from them a very probable conjecture as to the situation of the Bauddhas in the time at which Mādhava flourished, and as he places them no nearer than Kāśmīr and Khorasan, it appears likely that some period prior to his date was the epoch at which the Bauddha faith was compelled to retire from its native seat towards those northern regions in which it still prevails". *Essays*, III. 193.

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sentiment of the people, so did modern Hinduism. At a time when the rituals of the Vedic worship deluged the country with the blood of thousands of animals slaughtered in the name of God, the universal benevolence of Śākya appealed to the feeling of the people with a force and directness of purpose, which proved irresistible. No man, who had seen a dozen heads of cattle killed by spikes driven into their chests, the usual mode of sacrifice at the time, could for a moment deny the superiority of a religion which preached mercy for all created beings, and absolutely prohibited slaughter of every kind. But the Brāhmaṇs were not slow in perceiving their weak points ; they soon dropped the sacrifices of the Vedas ; inculcated universal love and kindness, even in the very words of their rivals ; and adopted a system of anthropomorphic theology which completely restored to them their hold on the mind of the masses. The theory of a gradual intellectual perfection, which formed the corner-stone of Buddhist philosophy, could not stand against a man-god endowed with supernatural attributes, and ever ready to attend to the call of his devotees ; and faith and devotion offered to illiterate people were far easier means of attaining salvation, than the cultivation of the intellectual powers to a high theoretical standard. The Brāhmaṇs went further ; they exalted the author of Buddhism by calling him an incarnation of the divinity ; and, instead of exciting antagonism, gradually won the Buddhists over to their way of thinking by explaining away their theology and their philosophy. Generally speaking, their policy was not to excite an *odium theologicum*, but to enlist the sympathy of the people on behalf of their creed by advancing half-way, and agreeing to a compromise. They admitted the sanctity of the shrines and holy places of the followers of Buddha, adopted their customs and religious observation on a large extent,[43] and preached in the language of their teachers ; but all in a manner so as completely to undermine their system, and transform it into a different religion.

Where it was impossible to appropriate a Buddhist temple to Hindu worship, rival temples were erected in its close neighbourhood, and services and ceremonials were so moulded and adapted as to leave nothing to the former to maintain its pre-eminence in the estimation of the people.[44] The Hindu temples of Orissa and their superior sanctity are evidently due to this policy, for it is from the seventh century that we find the province noticed in Hindu writings, not as the abode of outcasts and barbarians as the *Mahābhārata* made it, but as the chosen home of the gods. The Purāṇas, which underwent an extensive system of tampering and interpolation, and were brought to their present shape between the 5th and the 10th centuries, bear evidence on this

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43. "The Brāhmaṇas rarely attempted to ignore or denounce the traditions of any new people with whom they came in contact ; but rather they converted such materials into vehicles for the promulgation of their peculiar tenets". Wheeler's *History of India*, II, p. 419.

44. The adaptation of Christian theology and forms of worship by the Brāhmas of Bengal offers an apt parallel in the present day.

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head. The *Brahma Purāṇa* devotes two chapters [45] to the praises of Bhuvaneśvara and Puri, which were selected by the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu for their residence. In the fourth book of the *Padma Purāṇa*, [46] Puri is extolled as the abode of Viṣṇu, and the holiest place on the face of the earth. The first and the second Books of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, [47] relate the story of Rājā Indradyumna, who, at the close of the first or Satya Yuga, brought Jagannātha to dwell amongst men on the Blue Hills of Puri (Nīlācala). A subsequent volume of that work (*Avantī Khaṇḍa*) describes some of the principal spots in that town which claim peculiar pre-eminence. In reply to a query of Durgā as to what place on earth was the most sacred, and the secret abode of Mahādeva, the *Śiva Purāṇa* [48] [**10**] makes her lord deliver the following reply : "O daughter of the king of mountains, O Devi, you have much adored me ; I will, therefore, describe to you my Kṣetra on the earth for your gratification. In the grand Utkala Kṣetra, near the southern ocean, there lies a fine river that takes its source from the foot of the Vindhya mountain, and runs towards the east. From it has proceeded a charming stream by name Gandhāvatī, which is the very same with the Gaṅgā, and flows northwards here. On it sport flocks of geese and *Kāraṇḍavas* (wild ducks) amidst golden lotuses ; and its waters destroy all sin, and unite with the southern ocean. On its bank stands a forest, sacred to me, which removes all kinds of sin. It is the holiest of all holy places and is known by the name of Ekāmra. It is filled with grandeur, and the six seasons are ever present there. O Pārvati, that is my *Kṣetra* : it is as even as Kailāsa itself".

These and like notices in the *Purāṇas* prepared the way for several independent works devoted exclusively to the *Tīrthas*, or sacred places of Orissa, and among them may be noticed the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya*, the *Ekāmra Candrikā*, the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, and the *Puruṣottama Tattva*. The first is by far the oldest, and its name occurs in some of the *Purāṇas*. It opens with a request from Satyajit to give him an account of the different holy places of Utkala, and the gods, who dwell therein. Kapila, in reply, says, "Among continents, that of Bharata, and among countries that of Utkala, are the noblest, and nowhere on the face of the earth is there a country like unto it. Its holy places were, in a former age, described by the great sage Bharadvāja for the edification of the sages assembled near the sacred waters of Puṣkara, and I shall relate to you what I have heard of it". The work then describes successively the origin of the four sacred *Kṣetras* of Orissa, viz., 1, *Śaṅkha Kṣetra*, or Puri ; 2, *Arka Kṣetra*, or Koṇārak ; 3, *Virāja Kṣetra*, or Jājapur ; 4, *Padma Kṣetra*, or Bhuvaneśvara. Later authorities add a fifth, the *Vināyaka Kṣetra*, or Darpaṇa ; but it seems never to have risen to any importance, having nothing beyond an insignificant waterfall and a small temple dedicated to Gaṇeśa. The *Saṃhitā* evinces no marked sectarian tendency,

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45. The 13th of the first part, and the 1st of the second ; extracts from these will be given further on.

46. *Pātāla Khaṇḍa*, Chapter VII.

47. *Maheśvara* and *Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍas*.

48. *Uttara Bhāga*, Chap. XXVI.

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and its praises of the four sacred places are, on the whole, very fairly distributed ; though the fact of its placing Bhuvaneśvara, the oldest, at the end, would imply that its author at heart was a Vaiṣṇava of Orissa. Generally it has very little to say beyond the efficiency of the place as a remover of all kinds of moral taint, having been expressly designed for the purpose by the gods.[49] The principal river of the country, the Mahānadī, is said to be the Ganges herself in a new form, and a story is related of a sage, Sukānti by name, who induced that "celestial stream" to produce a second edition of herself, stretching from the Vindhya to the sea.

The *Ekāmra* professes to be an *Upa*, or minor, *Purāṇa*, and opens, in the usual Purāṇic style, with an account of the primary and secondary creations, and then recounts in great detail a number of legends in connexion with the establishment of all the principal temples and sacred spots in Bhuvaneśvara. It is avowedly a Śaiva work, and advocates throughout the superiority of faith in the *Liṇgam* over all other forms of worship. It comprises six thousand verses, divided into two parts, and seventy sections.

In extent the *Puruṣottama Māhātmya* is somewhat shorter than the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, but it claims to be a part of one of the great *Purāṇas*, the *Skanda*. This pretension, however, is not admitted by the *Nārada Purāṇa*, which divides the *Skanda* into seven parts, two of which contain chapters on the origin of Jagannātha, but none includes the whole or any great portion of this work. It extends to 45 chapters, and is devoted exclusively to the praises of Puri and its principal places of pilgrimage. On Orissa generally it says very little beyond its being a well-known country in the Bhāratavarṣa,[50] a very holy place on the shore of the southern ocean,[51] the noblest and best of all, "for there alone can man behold with wondering eyes Brahma in a material form,"[52] and so forth.

The *Ekāmra Candrikā* is a guide to pilgrims, containing directions for visiting the temples and court-yards, the holy pools and holier waters, of Bhuvaneśvara, and recounting the religious advantages to be derived by bathing, prostrating, recounting, performing *śrāddha*, and giving alms to the poor, in those places. It quotes largely from the *Kapila Saṃhitā*, the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Mahā Purāṇas* generally ; but it contains very little of legends and anecdotes, and is singularly devoid of interest. Almost the same prostrations, the same *mantras*, and the same mummeries, have to be gone through everywhere, and chapter after chapter repeats the same directions with scarcely any difference of language.

[11] The *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra is supposed to be a work of the 13th century. It contains brief descriptions of all the principal places of pilgrimage which a pious Hindu should make it a point to visit at least once in his life. Its

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49. *Kapila Saṃhitā*, C. II.
50. *uḍradeśa iti khyāto deśaḥ bhāratasaṃjñakaḥ* / Chapter VII.
51. *sa puṇye cotkale deśe dakṣiṇārṇavatīrage* / Chapter IV.
52. *tatrāpyayaṃ coḍradeśaḥ sarveṣāmuttamottamaḥ* /
atrāścaryanetveṇa paśyanti brahmarūpiṇam // Chapter XXI.

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account of Puri is elaborate, and the description of the car festival in it takes up over forty pages.

The *Puruṣottama Tattva* of Raghunandana is a brief and very unsatisfactory abstract of the last. Its account of Puri extends to only two pages, and that of Bhuvaneśvara to half a page. The *Tīrtha-yātrā-paddhati* is much better in this respect, being, uncommonly full in many respects; but it is wanting in originality, and, being anonymous, is not reliable.

None of the authorities referred to contain anything like real history: they all profess to describe provinces, towns, villages, sacred spots, holy streams, and sin-removing fountains; but they tell us nothing of their boundary, or their position—nothing regarding the people who lived in or by them, or of the sovereigns under whose sway they were. They tell the pious pilgrim all about the rewards which await him in a future existence, but nothing of what he may expect in this. For chronology they seem to have had the most sovereign contempt. From beginning to end, there is not to be found in any one of them a single date. If they ever condescend to give any idea of time, it is only to refer their reader to the fabulous or mystic cycles of the Satya, Tretā and the Dvāpara ages,—to the days of Brahmā, and the years of the Pitṛs and the Devas, but never to any current era.

For the civil history of Orissa our best guide is the *Mādlā Pāñji*, or the annals of the temple of Jagannātha. It begins with an enumeration of the kings of the Satya Yuga, or the age of purity, and brings down the record day by day and year by year to the present time, noticing every remarkable occurrence that has taken place in the province in connection with the history of the idol, and of its chief adorers, the sovereigns of Khurdā. Such a record for such a length of time, if authentic and reliable, would be of the utmost importance; but unfortunately there is nothing to show that the annals were really taken in hand at any very extraordinarily early period, or regularly kept up from the time when it was first undertaken. Judging from the language (Uriyā) in which it is written, and its general character, we believe, it was first commenced about six centuries ago. That it has ever since been regularly written up is questionable; the political vicissitudes of Khurdā during the last five hundred years tend to show that there must have been many and very long breaks. We are also loth to vouch for the strict accuracy of the large benefactions of the former Rājās of Orissa, and of their martial successes over sea and land as recorded in it. On the whole, however, it is a valuable document, and contains a pretty fair account of the later *Rājās* of Orissa. The Pāñjiās, or almanac-makers of the province, have also their chronicles of extraordinary events, and a few *Vaṃśāvalīs* in Sanskrit, giving the genealogies of royal dynasties; but as these have already been analysed by Stirling in his *Essays on the History of Orissa*,[53] and by Bhavānīcaraṇa Bandyopādhyāya in his history of Puri, we need only refer to them here.

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53. *Asiatic Researches*, XIV. and *Journal*, As. Soc., VI.

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Of the Muhammadan historians of Orissa, the most important is Abul Fazl, in whose time the province was first annexed to the Mughal empire. His *Ākbarnāmāh* contains valuable notes on it, and in the reigns of Pratāpanarasiṃha Deva and Mukunda, differs very considerably from the *Vaṃśāvalīs* of the Pāñjiās ; and in many respects, particularly regarding dates and the doings of Muhammadan generals, his testimony is far more reliable. In the sequel to the *Ākbarnāmāh*, the *Āin i Ākbari*, he also gives an epitome of the geography and history of Orissa, which contrasts very favourably with the works of the native authors. The *Makhzan Afghāni*, also called *Tārikh i Khān Jahān Lodi*, gives particulars regarding the reigns of Sulaimān, who conquered Orissa in A. H. 975, Dāud the pretender, Qutbi Lohāni the zemindar, Īśa and his son Khwajah Sulaimān, and others. In the *Haft Iqlim*, the author, a Persian who visited the province at the beginning of the seventh century of the Hijrah, has recorded a few notes of his impressions, and the *Tuzak-i-Jehāngiri* has lists of all the governors of Orissa down to the time of the conquest of Khurdā in A. H. 1027. Notices of the province are likewise to be met with in the *Pādśāhnāmāh*, the *Shāh-jehānnāmāh*, the *A'lamgirnāmāh*, and lastly the *Siyar ul Mutaākherin*, and for the purpose of rectifying the errors and falsifications of the Puri chronicles, they are of great value.

Of European authorities on Orissa and its principal monuments, it is not necessary to say anything here, but by way of bibliography, we shall give a list of some of the more important works :

1. *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack* by A. Sterling, in the *Asiatic Researches*, XV. 163.

2. *The History of the Rājās of Orissa from the reign of Yudiṣṭhira*, translated from the *Vaṃśāvalīs* by A. Sterling, *Journal*, Asiatic Society, VI. 756.

3. *Orissa and its Evangelization* by Amos Sutton, Derby, 1850.

4. *Orissa, the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry* : including an account of British connexion with the Temple of Jagannātha ; by William F. B. Laurie, London, 1850. (This volume is made up of certain articles published in the *Calcutta Review*, Nos. XVIII and XIX).

5. *Architecture of Orissa*, in James Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, London, 1865.

6. *The Hand-book of Architecture* of the same author.

7. *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan*, by the same author, London, 1847.

8. *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India*, by the same author, London, 1845.

9. Daniell's *Illustrations of the Ancient Monuments of Hindostan*, fol. plates.

10. *Récherches historiques et géographiques, sur l' Inde* par J. Bernoulli, Berlin, 1787.

11. *Monuments anciens et modernes de l' Hindustan* par L. Langles, Paris, 1821.

12. *E claircissemens géographiques sur la carte de l' Inde* par M. d' Anvile, Paris, 1753.

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13. *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India* by the Rev. T. Acland, London, 1847.

14. Gladwin's *Ayin Akbery*, Calcutta 1800.

15. *A Description of the Temple of Jagannātha and of the Rath-Jātrā or Car festival* by F. Mansbach, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, III. 253.

16. *The History of Puri with an Account of Jagannātha* by Brij Kishore Ghose, Cuttack, 1848.

17. *Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission for the year 1846.*

18. *India's Cries to British Humanity* by J. Peggs, London, 1830.

19. Mackenzie, MSS.

20. Tenant's *Voyages.*

21. Bruton in *Churchill Collection of Travels.*

22. *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, Paris 1718.

23. Bernier's *Letters from the East* (Southey in the Curse of Kehama, Canto IV. works out the story of the virgin given in this work).

24. Thronton's *Gazetteer of India*, voce Orissa.

25. Hamilton's *Gazetteer of Hindustan*, voce Orissa.

26. Rennell's *Map of Hindustan*, London, 1788.

27. Simpson and Kay's *India, Ancient and Modern*, London, 1867.

28. Kitto's *Journeys through Orissa*, Journal, Asiatic Society, VII. 53, 200, 660, 828, 1060, VIII. 367, 474, 606, 671.

29. Mott's *Narrative of a Journey through Orissa*, in *Asiatic Annual Register*, I. 76.

30. *Ancient and Mediaeval India* by Mrs. Manning, 2 vols. London, 1869.

31. Prinsep's *Notices of Inscriptions from Orissa*, Journal, Asiatic Society, VI. VII.

32. Colnel Phipp's *Account of Jagannātha, Asiatic Journal* for March, 1824.

33. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bonn.

34. Julien's *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, Paris, 1853.

35. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871.

36. Hunter's *Orissa*, 2 vols. London, 1872.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF ORISSA

RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA

Indian Architecture. Absence of architectural remains in India of a very remote age. Opinions of Wheeler, Fergusson, and Mrs. Manning about the antiquity of Indian Architecture. Arguments in favour of such opinions. Such arguments not conclusive. Reasons why old remains are wanting. Grecian architecture. Pillars of Aśoka; they indicate the existence of architecture before the time of Aśoka. Untenability of the Bactro-Grecian, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Persian theories. Notices of architecture in Pāṇini, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Ṛgveda*. Wilson's opinion. Conventionalism in architecture. Tamulian origin of Indian architecture discussed. Classification. Sanskrit works on architecture.

The ancient monuments of Orissa may be described under the two heads of Buddhist and Hindu. From what has been observed in the introduction it may be easily inferred that the former are by far the oldest, though in extent and quality they yield to their successors. They are to be met with in tolerable preservation on the Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhuvaneśvara, and in mutilated fragments in the districts of Cuttack and Balasore. The Hindu remains are scattered all over the province. They are of very much the same character everywhere, and the description of one group of them would, *mutatis mutandis*, suffice for all the others. It is desirable, therefore, both for the convenience of the reader, and to avoid repetition, to describe, under one general head, such parts of their details as are common to several, and to reserve their especial peculiarities for separate treatment. And inasmuch as these monuments consist principally of architectural remains, and some of the Buddhist relics rank with the oldest that have yet been met with in India, a few remarks seem necessary on the age when architecture proper was first learnt by the Indian Aryans, and the different styles it has since assumed in different parts of the country. A diversity of opinion now prevails on the subject, and, though we are not competent to restore the true historical framework we think it would not be out of place if we noticed here the most salient points at issue, as far as our knowledge will admit of, in order that the course of future research may not be trammelled by the rut of any beaten track.

The oldest architectural remains that have come to light in India are the pillars of Aśoka, and they are not of a greater age than the middle of the third century before Christ. Hence it is, that an opinion is gaining ground that the ancient Aryans were not proficient in the art of building substantial edifices with stones, or bricks, and that the primitive Hindus were dwellers in thatched huts and mud houses, or structures equally

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primitive. Mr. Wheeler, in his *History of India*, imagines that the wall round the palace of Daśaratha was nothing more substantial than a hedge. Following this idea he supposes the palaces and fortresses described in the *Mahābhārata* to have been thatched structures, constructed of mats, bamboos, and mud, but devoid of everything in the way of true masonry architecture. Depicting Hastināpur, the capital of the Kurus, he says : "A non-descript population, which may have comprised cultivators, herdsmen, mechanics, retainers, and petty shop-keepers seem to have dwelt in an assemblage of huts, or houses, constructed of mats, bamboos, mud, or bricks which was dignified by the name of city. The palace was very likely built after a similar fashion, though on a larger scale, and with some pretensions to strength. Probably it was a rude quadrangular building, having men's apartments on one side, and women's apartments on the other ; whilst the third side was devoted to the kitchens and household servants."[1] Elsewhere he fancies the central quadrangle of the palace of Daśaratha contained a thatched granary which formed the treasury.[2] Mr. Fergusson, the highest authority on Indian architecture, in his latest essay on the subject, says : "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, or too often repeated, that stone architecture in India commences with the age of Aśoka, (B.C. 250). Not only have we as yet discovered no remains whatever of stone buildings anterior to his reign, but all the earliest caves, either in Behar, or in the western Ghats, show architecture in the first stage of transition from wood to stone."[3] In his lecture on the study [14] of Indian architecture, the same author, adverting to a cave in Behar, observes : "It is a well-authenticated example of his (Daśaratha's) reign, and, though cut in the granite rock, every form, every detail, is copied from some wooden original, shewing that at the time it was executed, stone architure was unknown in India, and men were only beginning to think of a more durable material. From that time we have hundreds of examples, in which we see the wooden forms gradually being replaced by those more appropriate to stone".[4] In his *History of Architecture* he states : "The Indians first learnt this art from the Bactrian Greeks".[5] Elsewhere he says : "We are not surprised to find wooden forms copied in stone in the early caves of the Buddhists about the Christian era, because we know that no stone architecture existed in India till the Greeks taught them the use of the more durable material".[6] Mrs. Manning is of opinion that this teaching commenced a little earlier. According to her, "Alexander the Great left Greek and other foreign artists in India, about the year B.C. 326 ; and sculptures found in Kashmere, and coins struck in mints established on the Indus, give undoubted signs of Greek influence at dates somewhat earlier than our own era ; whilst no Buddhist monument clims to be earlier than about B.C.247."[7] These assertions and opinions have derived great support from the fact of the primitive Hindu religion having been purely

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1. *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 43.
2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 9.
3. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 77.
4. *Lecture on Indian Architecture*, p. 9.
5. *History of Architecture*, I, p. 171.
6. *Architecture at Beejapoor*, p. 87.
7. *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, I, p. 396.

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domestic, requiring no lordely edifice for its observance. It is not to be denied that the greatest incentives to architecture in ancient times, were the rites of religion, and respect for the memory of the dead, and temples and tombs called forth the greatest efforts of the builder. It must follow that where the dead were disposed of on the funeral pyre, and the ceremonials of religion observed by the domestic hearth, or in the courtyard of a house under the canopy of heaven, or a cloth awning,[8] sufficient attention was not likely to be directed to structures that should accommodate large numbers, or last for ages. It is also undeniable that the first attempt of man to build must have resulted in mud huts, or log cabines, retaining closely the character of the caves and excavations on the model of which they were executed, add designed principally, if not exclusively, for the purpose of protection from the inclemencies of the weather, and the attacks of wild beasts. Then would follow the era of domesticism, when men would build cottages and houses, less for purposes of defence, more for convenience, utility and comfort. Next in order, or perhaps simultaneously, would come sacred piles and monuments for the the dead, which would begin to separate architecture as a fine art from mere constructive ingenuity ; and prepare the way for palaces, towers and sacred edifices, temples, sanctuaries and public buildings, structures combining the vastness, grandeur, utility, simplicity and beauty of previous stages and gradually leading to the perfection of the art.

But we take leave to doubt the accuracy of the conclusion that has been drawn from these general premises. The question at issue is not one of natural sequence, but of dates. Few will deny the order in which the architectural faculty of man has evolved itself, but considerable difference of opinion may exist as to the time when any one nation attained a particular stage in its course of progress. It wauld be foreign to the subject of this essay to discuss at length the history of architecture among the Aryans from the time they issued forth from the plateau of central Asia to people India, Persia, and diverse parts of Europe, but certain it is that one branch of them, the colonists in Greece, attained a higher pitch of excellence, if not in magnitude and therefore in majesty, but certainly in exquisite perfection of artistic beauty, elegance and taste, than the Semites, or the Turanians, ever did in any part of the world, and the argument therefore of the Aryans never having been a building race, may be rejected as gratuitous. The Grecians may have borrowed the idea of large edifices from the Egyptians, or the Pelasgians, and the most successful building tribes among them may have had some Pelasgic blood in their veins as supposed by Mr. Fergusson, but as a nation they were Aryans, and, having once got the idea, they worked it out in their own way, independently of their teachers. The Aryans who came to India had the same intellectual capacity and it remains yet to be seen how far they utilised it in the country of their adoption. They had, it is true, no Egyptian or Pelasgic monuments at hand to excite their ambition, and their religi-

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8. This was not always the case, for we read in the *Ṛgveda* of "spacious chambers" (Wilson's Translation, II, 321), and "halls of sacrifice" (II, 320), "radiant halls" (II, 59), and doors are ordered to be thrown open for the gods to enter (II, 72).

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ous and funeral ceremonies were not favourable to any great efforts at architecture ; but they were not altogether without some Turanian models close by them to imitate; they had some intercourse with the people of the west as far as Egypt, who were all great builders ; and as a civilized race, living in a climate where the periodical rains rendered indoor life for a portion of the year, even for professed houseless hermits, an unavoidable condition of existence,[9] needed houses and palaces, and it is not to be supposed that they always contented themselves with the most primitive dwellings of wood. "Is it at all likely", asks Mr. Sherring, "that the Aryan race existed in India for between one and two thousand years, that they conquered a large portion of the country, that they attained to greatness and glory, and made wonderful [15] progress in civilization, equalling, if not surpassing, their contemporaries in other parts of Asia, and yet, that, during all this time, they were satisfied with only transitory symbols of greatness, and never conceived the idea of leaving behind them durable monuments of their power, which should hand down their name to many generations ? They must have heard of the vast structures erected in Egypt, and of the splendid palaces, and stairs, and pillars, and other edifices, with which the Assyrian monarchs adorned their cities. They were not lacking in genius, or in the desire for knowledge ; on the contrary, their minds investigated the highest subjects, and whatever was of interest to hnmanity in general, they regarded as of importance to themselves."[10]

It may be said, and very justly, that no amount of *a priori* argument can be of avail against positive facts ; and if it can be proved that Greek artists under Alexandar, or under his successors, did teach the Indians the art of building in stone, or brick, and that no stone building had existed before that time, all disputation about it would be thrown away. But no such proof has as yet been afforded. The discussion has been carried on the premiss, taken for granted, that no Indo-Aryans could originate stone architecture, and the enquiry, therefore, has been, whence did they get the germs of the art ? and, as in the minds of the disputants the idea of perfection of architecture is associated with the Greeks, and as by a strange coincidence the oldest Indian remains hitherto discovered are synchronous with the occupation of the country to the west of the Indus by the Greeks, a conclusion has been arrived at very much, as we believe, against true history. We hold that there is no proof whatever to show that the Indo-Aryans knew not stone architecture before they came in contact with the Greeks, and none, likewise, of their having learnt the art from them. We do not for a moment wish to question the fact that no authentic stone building has been met with of an age anterior to the time of Aśoka, but we cannot admit that the premiss

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9. The Cāturmāsya Yāga of the Hindus and the Vasso of the Buddhists owe their origin entirely to this cause. Travelling during the monsoon rain being impracticable, the monks and hermits were allowed to dwell in houses, and there keep themselves occupied with some ceremonial or other by way of discipline.

10. Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*, p. 22.

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necessarily leads to the conclusion that none existed before that period, or that the Greco-Bactrian theory alone can explain the circumstances of the case. The absence of remains does not *ipso facto* imply the anterior non-existence of a thing, and what is true in other cases is equally so as regards architecture, while the disappearance of substantial proof may be attributed to many causes, social, religious, political, and physical ; which it is needless here to dilate upon. Moslem fanaticism, which, after repeated incursions, reigned supreme in India for six hundred years, devastating everything Hindu, and converting every available temple, or its materials, into a masjid, or a palace, or a heap of ruins, was alone sufficient to sweep away everything in the way of sacred buildings. To take for granted, therefore, the absence of remains as a proof of the anterier non-existence of building is to convert the negation of proof into a positive proof.

But is it a fact that there is no proof whatever, tangible or documentary, to show that the Indian Aryans knew and practised the art of building with stone long before the time of Aśoka ? The very pillars of that sovereign, we believe, afford incontestable evidence to the contrary. Aśoka was born and bred a Hindu ; he lived and moved amongst Hindus, and had never been beyond the boundary of Hindusthan. When he changed his religion, he only gave up one form of Indian worship for another. His new teachers were likewise Indians ; and few of them had seen any place beyond the Indus ; for as a race they were not much given to travelling, and the missionaries who did travel were hermits who issued forth from their country to disseminate the religion of Śākya, and not to bring home the arts of civilized life, and even if they did attempt it, as hermits, they could effect very little in that way. It was impossible for him, therefore, to bring with his new religion an art, which was, as is presumed, utterly unknown before his time and to attain in it so high a pitch of excellence as his pillars indicate. Those pillars are monolyths forty-two feet seven inches in length, with an average diameter of two feet seven inches ; most carefully shaped and polished, rounded with great accuracy, tapering from base to top in a way which implies considerable taste in pillar-making, and surmounted by sculptured capitals of much elegance and beauty. Quarrying blocks nearly four feet square and forty three feet long is the most arduous occupation in which the Hindus can be employed in the present day, and, even under European superintendence, they have but rarely proved equal to it. Certain it is that not a single block of such dimensions has been chiselled within the last fifty years in the Bengal Presidency. How is it to be supposed, that two thousand years ago, they found themselves more proficient at the very first start, without any previous training ? Turning, or cutting true, such ponderous blocks into round pillars was even a more arduous and difficult task ; but they acquitted themselves in it with equal success. Then the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances (and some of the pillars were sent hundreds of miles away from the hill-sides where they had been quarried) and setting them up at diverse and very remote places, demanded an amount of mechanical appliance and ingenuity which could not have been imparted to the people all at once by solitary teachers. Again, the pillars were used as mere

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monuments erected singly in distant places to bear only inscriptions[11], and we are accordingly called upon to [16] accept as a fact that those who, until then, lived in thatched huts, and could not put even rubble stone together to make their dwellings, went against the natural order of things which require that houses should long precede monumental columns[12], to the trouble and expense of putting them up merely for purposes of display and ostentation. They presuppose an extent of knowledge and practical proficiency in quarrying, carving and ornamention which cannot be acquired within the period of a single reign. It was, no doubt, possible for Aśoka to obtain written instructions and descriptions, or the aid of artists from beyond the Indus, but it would be too much to suppose that a man, who had never seen a stone house, and was ignorant of its use, would send to a distant country for quarriers, masons, and sculptors.

Supposing, however, for the sake of agrument, that he did send for, or somehow get, the aid of foreign artists, he could obtain it from one of four nations, viz., Greeks, Persians, Assyrians, or Egyptians. Now, of the Greeks in connexion with India, authentic history for our purpose here begins with the invasion of Alexander ; but there is nothing to show that Alexander himself did much in the way of architecture on this side of the Indus, besides erecting a few altars, and building two cities, one to the memory of his favourite horse Bucephalus, and the other to that of his pet-dog Peritas, and History is silent as to the nature of those cities, and the nationality of their architects ; Mrs. Manning says, "he left behind him Greek and foreign artists," but we know not on what authority this statement has been made. Looking to the recent British expeditions to Abyssinia no one would assume that he invaded India with any large number of architects and workmen, to leave some of them behind in the country to lay the foundation of Indian architecture. The total period of his sojourn in India extended to only a few months, the greater part of which was devoted to marching from place to place, his stay at any one spot not exceeding a few days, and that under circumstances of military pomp and array which could not possibly afford any opportunity to the conservative Hindus to see and appreciate enough of Grecian civilization to imitate it. Of his Indian dominion Calanus, the gymnosophist, presented to him an excellent image. "He laid", says Plutarch, "dry and shrivelled hide before him, and first trod upon the edges of it. This he did all round ; and as he trod on one side,

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11. Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that the pillars were originally erected in front of temples, or topes, but the Tirhut pillars, which are still in *situ*, have no mound or ruin of any kind in their close proximity to bear out this supposition. It is, however, possible that temples once existed in their neighbourhood, which have been since completely removed by the Hindus, or the Muhammadans ; but the monumental character of the pillars is not thereby affected in the least.

12. Cromlechs, and stone circles, and other megalithic remains are perhaps exceptions, but they cannot fairly be included under the head of architectural monuments. They were never formed of dressed stones.

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it started up on the other ; at last, he fixed his feet on the middle, and then it lay still. By this emblem he showed him, that he should fix his residence, and plant his principal force, in the heart of his empire, and not wander to the extremities."[13] His Grecian successors in India were neither of sufficient importance, nor did they hold any part of the country sufficiently long, to be the leaders of taste and fashion to such a potentate as Aśoka. They had then occupied only for a short time an edge of the dry leather, the border land of the North West, and for all practical purposes do not appear to have exercised much influence on Indian civilized life. To judge of the past from the present, let us take the English nation in India. It has held India for a longer period than the Greeks did Bactria from the time of Alexander to that of Aśoka, but yet it has produced no appreciable effect on the architecture of its neighbours. The Bhutanese and the Sikimites have not yet borrowed a single English moulding. The Nepalese, under the administration of Sir Jung Bahadur, are not a whit behind-hand of Aśoka and his people ; Sir Jung went to Europe, which Aśoka never did ; still there is no change perceptible in Nepalese architecture indicative of a European amalgamation. The Kashmiris and the Afghans have proved equally conservative, and so have the Burmese. But to turn from their neighbours, to the people of Hindustan : these have had intimate intercourse with Europeans now for over three hundred years, and enjoyed the blessings of English rule for over a century, and yet they have not produced a single temple built in the Saxon, or any other European style. Thus the conclusion we are called upon to accept is that what has not been accomplished by the intimate intercourse of three centuries, and the absolute sovereignty of a century, in these days of railways, and electric telegraphs, and mass education, was effected by the Greeks two thousand years ago simply by living as distant neighbours for eighty years or so. Doubtless private speculators, coming in search of work, could afford a supply of architects to Aśoka even when he would not send for any ; but no more would architects and masons go to a place for work where stone and brick houses were unknown, and therefore not in demand than Rosa Bonheur or Landseer think of opening a studio in the capital of Dahomey.

Admitting, however, that Aśoka[14] did somehow get a few master workmen from Greece, or from the Bactrian Greeks, we would ask, would not such people in the total absence of an indigenous style, reproduce the forms they were most familiar with ? There can be only one answer to such a question ; but the pillars shew that they are perfectly independent of Greek art of the 3rd, 4th, and the 5th centuries B.C. We find in them nothing of the Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian columns—nothing to recall to mind the genius

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13. Langhorne's *Plutarch*, Ed. London, 1828, p. 491.

14. Aśoka is said to have built 84,000 *stūpas* in different parts of India. This is no doubt an exaggeration, but there can be no question that he erected a great many, for a good number of them were in existence in the time of Fā Hian and Hiouen Thsang from 7 to 9 centuries after his time.

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of the great masters of architecture and sculpture. Their proportion, their bases, and their ornamentation are all different, and charcteristic of an original style, and a style which must have taken centuries before it was brought to the state of perfection in which we find it in the time of Aśoka.

[17] The last argument applies equally to the Egyptians. The characteristics of Indian architecture of the first three centuries before the Christian era as preserved in the pillars of Aśoka, the caves of Khaṇḍagiri and Behar, and the bas-reliefs of Sāñci, bear no evidence whatever of their being of Egyptian origin. The pilasters, doorways, cornices, brackets, and mouldings of the time were totally different, and cannot by any stretch of imagination be approximated to the land of the Pharaohs. Professor W. H. Hoskings, the author of the article on architecture in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is of opinion that "in its leading forms and more obvious features, Hindu architecture strongly resembles Egyptian, and may be considered as of the same family with it". (III. p. 434). But the authority of Mr. Fergusson on this subject is of far greater importance, and it is decidedly against the supposition. No one, who has seen drawings of ancient Indian buildings, and has placed them beside the magnificient illustrations of the *Description de l' Egypte* will for a moment entertain the smallest suspicion on the subject.[15]

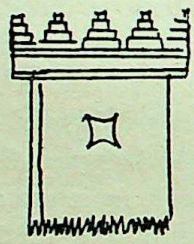
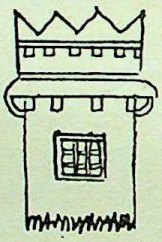


Fig. 1 & 2 : Towers from Sāñci



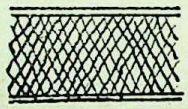


Fig. 3 : Check moulding from Assyria

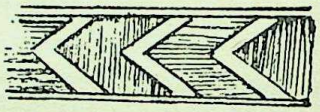


Fig. 4 : Chevron moulding from Assyria

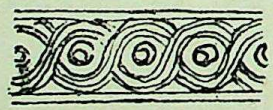


Fig. 5 : Interlacing circular moulding from Assyria

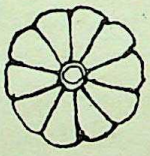


Fig. 6 : Patera from Assyria

The same may be said of Assyria and Persia, but with some reservations. The conical battlements of Assyrian towers are reproduced in a few of the bas-reliefs of

15. The Satgarbha caves of Daśaratha have doors with sloping sides in the Egyptian style, but they are quite exceptional, and their counterparts have nowhere else been met with in India.

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Sāñci, and the triple-step battlements of the Palaces of Assyria occur in some bas-reliefs of Khaṇḍagiri and Sāñci ; on several towers at the latter place a fourth step is added to the battlements as shown on the margin (Figs. 1 & 2); but both these features are so simple that they cannot be taken as worth anything as tests. Two ashlers put slanting towards each other, produce a triangular figure, and three ashlers of different sizes put one upon another, Figs. 3 & 4, produce the other ; and children, playing with German toy bricks, produce them without any great effort of the inventive faculty. This remark would apply to the chevron and the cross-lined check mouldings, (Figs. 3 and 4) ; as also to the beading round the necks of Asoka's pillars, for no ornament suggests itself more readily than a band of beads round the neck. The interlacing circular moulding observable in Assyrian architecture (Fig. 5) occurs repeatedly on the temple of Bhuvaneśvara, but the nature of the ornament is not such as to warrant any conclusion as to its origin. A wavy line is a figure which results almost instinctively when a pencil is at play in the hand of a boy, and another to interlace it requires but very little exertion of the imagination. Some of the pateras also are similar (Fig. 6); but the similitude is such as must result from the attempt of any primitive nation to delineate flowers by ranging four or more petals round a central dot. Certain it is that all these patterns may be seen very neatly carved on the hafts of hatchets from Polynesia where Assyrian art-influence could not have been other than *nil.* The drooping foliations of the capitals are more complicated ; and they certainly belong in common both to the Aśoka and Assyrian pillars. To an Indian they appear very like the pendant filaments of the lotus after the petals have been removed from the receptacle, or the reverted petals of a lotus bud ; forms which are peculiarly ornamental and beautiful, and which have been employed in India as ornaments in a variety of ways, and in different places. It would not be safe, therefore, to take them as conclusive. The so-called honey-suckle and lotus ornament, which is common both to the Aśoka pillars and Assyria, might not at first sight appear to be so readily disposed of. With the people of this country the upright buds may well pass for spikenards, or flowers of the turmeric, or the spathes of the *Nīlakaṇṭha,* a beautiful deep purple flowering plant of the zingiber tribe quite common in India, and the open petalled flower with buds, the Mucukunda *(Pterospermum acerifolium)*; the uprights are as unlike lotus buds or half-blown flowers as they well can be, and the intermediate buds with four dots not at all like honey-suckle buds : We take the open petals to be bunches of slender leaves tied together. But whatever they be, they are so peculiar that an imitation on the one side or the other may be readily assumed, and if this be assumed the whole capital, and even the battlements and the mouldings, might be taken to be Assyrian, though logically we cannot admit that the cumulative effect of a number of individually weak and scarcely tenable arguments, is conclusive by any means : the imposing chain of circumstantial evidence, which in sensational novels plays so exciting a part, invariably breaks down under the first stroke of the hammer of truth. But even admitting to the full extent their force, the similitudes do not by any means suffice to settle the date of Indian stone

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architecture—much less to affiliate it to the Grecians of Bactria. The relation of the Indo-Aryans with Assyrians, dates from a much earlier epoch than B. C. 250, and it is possible, though in the absence of proof not very probable, that the two nations did borrow from each other many elements and requirements [18] of civilization ; but no deductions about the age of Indian architecture from the similitude of particular ornaments can be reasonable or safe. Of course, if it could be established beyond a doubt that the Indo-Aryans had no stone architecture of their own down to a particular period, and that that period was later than the time when they came in contact with the Assyrians, it could be argued that they had taken the art from the latter ; but in such a case it would be natural to expect that the early Indian style should bear a close resemblance to the Assyrian. It is to be regretted that sufficient materials are not at hand for a thorough comparison of the styles of the two nations ; but from what we have, it is clear that one of them is not a copy of the other. Most of the doors of Assyrian palaces and of some of their fortresses were rounded on the top ; but none were so in India. Indian upper roofs were mostly slanting or curvilinear ; those of Assyria flat. The cornices of the two were alike, and supported on corbels ; but their styles were entirely different. The pilasters and pillars as seen at Khaṇḍagiri and in the Sāñci bas-reliefs, are, likewise, different from anything of the kind figured by Layard, Botta, or Fergusson. The verandas and balconies shown in Indian bas-reliefs have not their counterparts in Assyria ; and the pointed horse-shoe pediments which formerly surmounted Indian buildings, and were so peculiarly characteristic, are absent in Assyrian and Persian buildings. To make this clear we place on the margin the figure of an Indian stronghold taken from the Sāñci bas-reliefs,[16] (Fig. 8), beside one from Layard's Nineveh, (Fig. 7) [17] and a glance at them will, we believe, demonstrate that their styles are independent of each other ; at any rate their resemblance, whatever they are, are by no means such as to warrant the deduction of one of them being in any way

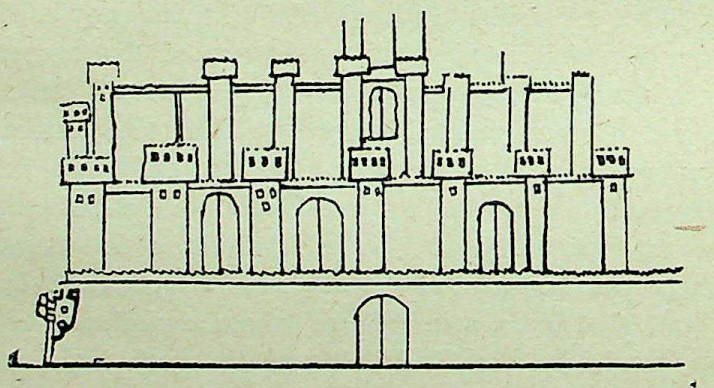

Fig. 7 : Fort from Assyria

related to the other. Plates 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35 and 38 of the *Tree and Serpent Worship*, also offer very remarkable specimens of Indian buildings for comparison with the palaces

16. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate XXXVIII.
17. Layard's *Nineveh*, plate 66.

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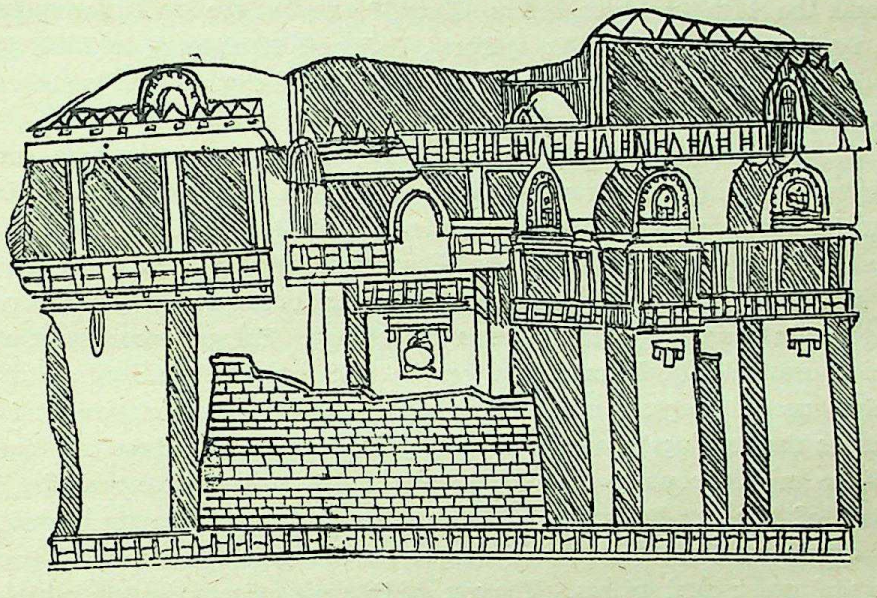
of Khorsabad, Koyunjik, and Persepolis, as delineated in Layard's illustrations of Nineveh buildings and Mr. Fergusson's woodcuts of ancient Persian palaces. The flying arch shown in the front of the Khorsabad Palace,[18] may be compared, and indeed bears a close resemblance, to similar members of mediaeval Jain temples, but we



Fig, 8 : Stronghold from Sāñci

scarcely think that, on the strength of the similitude, anybody would venture to draw a definite conclusion regarding the genesis of Indian architecture. Nothing of this flying arch is noticeable in Indian buildings of the time of Aśoka, and of his successors for two centuries. Under any circumstance the resemblances are by no means so close as to justify the supposition that the Indian specimens are the handi-works of trans-Indian architects entirely unaffected by other and indigenous influence; for it would be absurd to suppose that the Assyrians in India erected edifices altogether after wooden models, while in their own country the public buildings were, to a large extent, of stone. If it be assumed that the architects were natives who had learnt the principles of their art chiefly from Assyria, or Persia, or from a common source, it would be equally strange that they should have perpetuated the construction of wooden models in India for centuries after they had seen better and more artistic designs with their tutors.

A careful survey of these facts leads us to the inevitable conclusion that quarriers, masons, and sculptors existed in the country long before the periods fixed by the learned author of the *History of Architecture*, and by Mrs. Manning respectively, and that there likewise existed stone and brick edifices of some kind or other, and which, to judge from existing remains, were unlike any Greek, Egyptian or Assyrian building that we are acquainted with. For aught we know there may have been a time when the Indians

18. *History of Architecture*, I, 155, woodcut 60.

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copied from the Assyrians, but it was at such a remote period in history that nothing precise can be said about it.

Nor are documentary evidences wanting to support this conclusion. In the Grammar of Pāṇini, which was composed, according to Dr. Goldstucker, between the 9th and the 11th centuries before Christ,[19] we find the derivations given of such words as *iṣṭaka* (bricks), *stambha* (pillars), *bhāskara* (sculptors), *aṭṭālikā* (buildings), &c., and they cannot but imply the existence of brick and stone buildings at the time and for some time previously.

[19] The ages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have not yet been satisfactorily settled ; but it is admitted on almost all hands, that those works existed long before the reign of Aśoka, very probably from before the date of Buddha himself, and they abound in descriptions of temples, two-storied buildings, balconies, porticos, triumphal arches, enclosing walls, flights of stone masonry steps in tanks and a variety of other structures all indicative of a flourishing architecture in the country. The great concourse of crowned heads which assembled at Indraprastha, on the occasion of Yudhiṣṭhira's royal feast, the *Rājasūya*, needed a great number of houses for its accomodation, and the poet thus describes the lodgings assigned to the guests : "O king, these and many other princes of the middle country (central India ?) came to the great ceremonial, Rājasūya, of the sons of Pāṇḍu. By order of the virtuous monarch, to them were assigned dwellings replete with refreshments of every kind, and having by them charming lakes, and ranges of ornamental plants. The son of Dharma welcomed them in the due form. After the reception, the princes repaired to the several houses assigned for their accomodation. Those houses were lofty as the peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded on all sides by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices, and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent ; the rooms were furnished with commodious (*lit.*, large) seats, and clothing, and garlands ; and the whole was redolent with the perfume of the finest agallochum. The houses were white as the goose, bright as the noon, and looked most picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments, even as the peak of the Himalaya. The princes were refreshed by the very sight of those mansions."[20]

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19. Professor Max Müller brings down the age of the grammar to the 6th century B. C., which of itself is at least three centuries anterior to the limit fixed by Mr. Fergusson for the origin of Indian architecture.

20. *Mahābhārata*, B. II. C. 34, As. Soc. Ed. I, p. 354. This passage appears in Mr. Wheeler's *History of India*, (Vol. I. p. 165), in a very different garb, quite unlike what we meet with in the original. The word *āvasatha* "a house," is rendered by "a pavilion", which conveys the idea of a tent, or a temporary structure, and makes the whole descrip-

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In the story of Nala allusion is made to a lofty balcony from which men were seen from a great distance; and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the mischievous harridan, Mantharā, looks out from an upper window of the palace to notice the rejoicings of the people in the street on the nomination of Rāma to the Vice-kingship of Kośala. The description of the metropolis of Ayodhyā is even more remarkable, and may be noticed as containing unmistakable proofs of the existence of stone, or brick, houses in Aryan India, at the time when that work was composed. It occurs in the 5th canto of the first book from which the following extract is taken. "On the banks of the Sarayū there was a great country named Kośala: it was happy and prosperous; and abounded in cattle, grain, and riches. In that country was the renowned city of Ayodhyā which had been of yore built by Manu, the lord of mankind. That great and magnificient city was twelve *yojanas* in length, and three in breadth, and included nine sub-divisions. Its principal gates, placed at proper intervals, were large and lofty, and its thoroughfares broad; it was embellished with numerous highways, the dust on which was always allayed with showers of water. And there were crowds of merchants, and a profusion of jewels; as also many large mansions, fortified places (*durga*), and pleasant gardens. It was surrounded by a deep and unassailable moat, and contained an immensity of arms of various kinds. Its arched gate-way (*toraṇa*) was provided with doors, and always guarded by numerous bodies of archers. The noble king, Daśaratha, who advanced the prosperity of the country, protected that city as his own, even as Indra protects his capital. The high roads of the city were provided with strong gateways, and its market-places were well-arranged and regularly disposed. There were in it lots of instruments, and arms, and numerous works of art. There were arms which could kill a hundred persons at a time (*śataghnī*, centicide, a primitive mittrailleuse generally supposed to have been a kind of rocket), and mighty clubs mounted with iron blades, and flags were flying over its triumphal gateways. There were also horses, and elephants, and war-chariots, and conveyances of various kinds. Ambassadors and travellers paced its streets, the sides of which were embellished by the wares of merchants and traders. The temples (*devāyatana*) in this city were as resplendent as the sky. Its assembly-halls, gardens, and alms-house (*prapā*, lit, where water is distributed gratis) were most elegant; and everywhere were arranged extensive buildings crowded with men and women, with learned men, and seniors wise as the Devas. The houses were as mines of gems, and the abodes of the goddess of fortune. The steeples of the houses were as resplendent as the crests of mountains, and bore hundreds of pavilions, like the celestial palace of the chief among the Devas. The rooms were full of riches and corn, exquisitely gilt and decorated, and seemed as charming as pictures; and they were so arranged [20] that men could pass from one room to another without

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tion inconsistent, and at times absurd. In fact his extracts are generally taken from corrupt translations, and are not at all reliable. For purposes of critical enquiry they are utterly worthless. Vide *Proceedings*, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, p. 44.

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perceiving any inequality (in the floor), while the dulcet sound of enchanting music proceeding from the *mṛdaṅga*, and the flute, and the *vīṇā*, filled every place."[21]

The words *toraṇa*, "arched gateways", *harmya* "masonry houses", *devāyatana* "temples", *sabhā* "assembly hall", *prāsāda* "palaces", *śikhara* "steeples," and *vimāna*[22] "pavilions" in the above extract are noteworthy. None of them can consistently be applied to huts and thatched houses, for which the poet invariably uses different words. Prurient fancy may extol and exaggerate, but it never suffices to create names of material objects which the fanciful have never seen or heard of ;—a Ruskin may amuse himself and his readers by building an imaginary palace in the air for the habitation of an imaginary queen of the air,[23] but his ideas are always of the earth, earthy, from material objects with which he is familiar. Mr. Wheeler has given a translation of this passage in his *History of India*, but, like the version of the *Mahābhārata* above noticed, it is corrupt and quite unreliable. Commenting on it, he says, "His (the Mahārāja's) palace was magnificient and resplendent, but in describing the walls, the Brahminical bard had indulged in a simile which furnishes a glimpse of the reality. They were so tall that the birds could not fly over them, and so strong that no beast could force its way through them. From this, it is evident that the walls could not have been made of brick or stone ; for in that case the attempt of a beast to force his way through them, would never have entered the mind of the bard. In all possibility, the palace was surrounded by a hedge, which was sufficiently strong to keep out wild beasts, or stray cattle".[24] Unfortunately for this commentary, the text is entirely imaginary. We have examined five different editions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, including those of Gorresio, and Carey, and eight MSS., but we have nowhere met with any passage that would give the idea of a tall wall, which the birds of the air could not fly over, or the beasts of the field could not force through. "Bees flying away from white lotuses, like brides from their husbands," "ducks and geese swimming in tanks", "brilliant king-fishers", "plantain trees round the tanks bending with the weight of the fruit, like reverential pupils bowing at the feet of their preceptors", and other objects prominently noticed by Mr. Wheeler, have likewise no place in the original ; and it is unnecessary, therefore, to refute the deductions that have been drawn from them. Probably the whole of the historian's extracts are taken from the Bengali version of Kīrtivāsa written about three hundred years ago, and utterly unworthy of critical notice. Adverting to treasures, he says, "the treasures, which probably contained the land revenue of rice and other grains, were placed for security within the enclosure," apparently disbelieving the possibility of any metallic wealth. The word in the original *dhana*, however, leaves no option in the matter, and seeing that in the time of the *Ṛgveda*

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21. *Rāmāyaṇa*, B. I. C. V.
22. *Vimāno'strīdevayāne saptabhūman ca sadmani.*
23. *The Queen of the Air*, by John Ruskin, 1869.
24. *The History of India*, II, 8.

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frequent mention was made of pieces of gold of a fixed weight and specific name, *niṣka*,[25] which were reckoned by hundreds, and presented to Brahmans and beggars on festive and other occasions ; that the nuptial present made to Sītā, included "a whole measure of gold pieces and a vast quantity of the same precious metal in ingots" ; that "Daśaratha gave a full *ayuta* (ten thousand pieces) of gold, and a quantity of unwrought gold to the value of an *ayuta*" ; and that descriptions [21] are given of presents of from ten to twenty crores[26] it would be a perversion of truth to assert that in the age of Daśaratha there was no more convenient form of wealth accessible to Indian princes than corn, and their treasuries were nothing better than granaries. It is scarecely likely that all these proceeded from the imagination of poets, and had no substratum whatever of truth.

At a much earlier age, Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (p. 18), quoted twenty-two different words from the Vedas, as the synonyms for houses, including several words which can be used for masonry houses only.

At a still earlier age the authors of the *Ṛgveda* hymns appear not to have been ignorant of stone forts, walled cities, stone houses, carved stone, and brick edifices. Cities (*pura*), as distinct from villages (*grāma*), were well-known, and chiefs have been described as owning a hundred cities.[27] Agni is invoked in one place to be a means of "protection for the posterity of his worshippers like unto the vast, spacious iron-walled cities of the Asuras."[28] In several other places he is called "the destroyer of cities." Indra is likewise "a destroyer of cities."[29] He is said to have "quickly demolished the strongholds and seven-walled cities of Srukts and other Asuras."[30] He overthrew ninety and nine cities of some Dasyu, and "occupied the hundredth as a place of abode". In one place he has ascribed to him the credit of demolishing "a hundred cities of stone for the pious Divodāsa."[31] Elsewhere he "demolished 90 cities for the same person",[32] and again "99 cities"[33]. He destroyed the "perennial cities" of the Asuras, and "humiliated their

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25. I, Kākṣivat, "unhesitatingly, accepted a hundred *niṣkas*, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls". Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II, 17. Again, "May he (the Rājā) be rich in kine, gold, in horses." According to Manu, a *niṣka* was a weight of gold equal to four *suvarṇas* (VII. 134). In the *Amarakośa*, it is put down at 108 *suvarṇas*. That it was a currency, if not coined mony, admits of no doubt. In the *Periplus*, goods are said to have been exchanged for the native money, *entopion nomisma*, and the Hindu gold coinage is termed *Kāltis*. Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (p. 13), quotes from the Vedas, eighteen different words, which convey the abstract idea of wealth without naming grain, or cattle, or any other specific object.

26. Carey's *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 114.
27. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, I, 147.
28. *Ibid.*, IV, 5.
29. *Ibid.*, II, 36.
30. *Ibid.*, IV, 59.
31. *Ibid.*, IV, 30, 20.
32. *Ibid.*, II, 34.
33. *Ibid.*, II, 256.

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defenders"[34]; he "humbled the people, suing for pardon, and destroyed their seven new cities",[35] as also "the hostile and undivine cities of the Asuras", and broke down their "artificial defences".[36] Again he possessed "all the cities of the Asuras as a husband his wives."[37] Sarasvatī is described "as firm as a city made of iron".[38] Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked to grant "an unassailable dwelling that may be a secure shelter."[39] Iron cities are also mentioned in several other places,[40] figuratively, no doubt, to express great strength, but not without conveying an idea of the writer's knowledge of something more substantial than wattle and mud. In the first *Maṇḍala* (*Sūkta CXII.7*) Atri is described to have been "thrown into a machine room with a hundred doors where he was roasted."[41] Vaśiṣṭha, in a hymn to Parjanya, longs to have "a three-storied dwelling" (*tṛdhātu saraṇam*).[42] Dr. Muir notices the mention of cities which had a hundred enclosures or fortifications (*śatabhujī*), and is of opinion that, "although they are alluded to as figurative expressions of the means of protection afforded by the gods, they no doubt suggest the idea of forts, consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at the time."[43] In the second Maṇḍala, sovereigns are described "who, exercising no oppression, sit down in this substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand columns."[44] and dwellings with such halls are said to be "vast, comprehensive and thousand-doored."[45] Commenting on these passages, Dr. Muir justly observes that "these are but exaggerated descriptions of a royal residence, such as the poets had seen".[46] Pillars, spacious doors, and windows, though frequently mentioned, are not decisive intimations of the existence of masonry buildings; but bricks could not possibly have originated unless required for such structures; for it would be absurd to suppose that bricks were known and made, and yet they were never used in the construction of houses. Commenting on the state of civilization among the Hindus at the Vedic period, as apparent in the third volume of his translation of the *Ṛg Saṃhitā*, the late Professor Wilson remarked :—

"Cities are repeatedly mentioned, and although, as the objects of Indra's hostility, they may be considered as cities in the clouds, the residences of the Asuras, yet the notion of such exaggerations of any class of beings could alone have been suggested by actual observations, and the idea of cities in heaven could have been derived only from familiarity with similar assemblages upon earth; but, as above intimated, it is probable that by Asuras we are to understand, at least occasionally, the anti-Vaidik people of India, and theirs were the cities destroyed. It is also to be observed, that

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34. *Ibid.*, II, 38.
35. *Ibid.*, II, 166.
36. *Ibid.*, II, 168, 247.
37. *Ibid.*, IV, 75.
38. *Ibid.*, IV, 189.
39. *Ibid.*, IV, 12.
40. *RV.* Maṇḍala I, 58, 8 ; II, 20, 8 ; IV, 27 ; VII, 3, 7 ; VII, 15, 14 ; VII, 95, 1 ; VIII, 89, 8 ; X, 101, 8.
41. *Ibid.*, IV, 148.
42. *Ibid.*, IV, 200.
43. *Sanskrit Texts*, V, 451.
44. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II, 313.
45. *Ibid.*, IV, 179.
46. *Sanskrit Texts*, V, 455.

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the cities are destroyed on behalf or in defence of mortal princes, who could scarcely have beleaguered celestial towns, even with Indra's assistance. Indeed, in one instance (p. 173), it is said that, having destroyed ninety and nine out of the hundred cities of the Asura, Sambara, Indra left the hundredth habitable for his protégé Divodāsa, a terrestrial monarch, to whom a metropolis in the firmament would have been of questionable advantage.

[22] "That the cities of those days consisted, to a great extent, of mud and mat hovels is very possible : they do so still. Benares, Agra, Delhi, even Calcutta, present numerous constructions of the very humblest class ; but that they consisted of those exclusively, is contradicted in several places. In one passage (p. 180) the cities of Sambara that have been overturned, are said to have consisted of stone ; in another (p. 470) the same cities are indicated by the appellative *dehyaḥ*, the plastered, intimating the use of lime, mortar or stucco ; in another we have specified a structure with a thousand columns, which, whether a palace or a temple, must have been something very different from a cottage; and again (p. 288) supplication is put up for a large habitation which could not be intended for a hut ; cities with buildings of some pretence must obviously have been no rarities to the authors of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*."[47]

To controvert these documentary proofs and arguments, the only fact of any moment that has yet been advanced is that Indian stone architecture in the first and second centuries before Christ shows evident signs of a transition from wood to stone, which could not have been the case had it existed and flourished from many centuries before it. It may at once be conceded that the caves of Behar and of the Western Ghats bear indications of their having been formed after wooden models. The same is, however, not the case with the excavations in Orissa. Were it otherwise, still the fact would not, we contend, necessarily imply that those caves indicate the first stage of transition from wood to stone. It is not to be denied that masonry houses must have allowed huts and wooden structures, and the peculiarities of the latter must necessarily, therefore, be traceable in the former ; but those peculiarities do not, by themselves, suffice to indicate the exact age when the transition from wood to stone first took place. There is a spirit of conservatism, a mannerism, or a survival of custom, in architectural ornamentation so strong that it preserves intact forms long after the lapse of the exigencies which first lead to their production. Many peculiarities in European architecture, even of this century, such as the Grecian *triglyphs* and *mathles*, avowedly the counterparts of wooden models, may be ascribed to this cause ; and in India such indications may be met with without number both in Hindu and in Muhammadan edifices of the last two centuries. In the fort at Agra may be seen, by the sides of the marble hall of the Dewan Khas, two small pavilions of white marble with curvilinear roofs formed entirely after the model of thatched huts. They are repeated in the palace of Shah Jehan at Delhi, and like-wise at Futtehpur Sikri and other Muhammadan cities. Slightly modified

47. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, III, p. xiv.

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they may be seen also on the palace at Bharatpur, and on other Hindu buildings. Until the end of the last century, a common form of temple for Kālī in Bengal was a quadrangular oblong room with two sloping curvilinear roofs, with gable ends in exact imitation of the commonest kind of hut known in the country. One of the kind still exists in Calcutta, close by the Nabaratna in Sobhabazar, and we have seen several at Chandernagar and elsewhere. Such structures bear the same name, *bāṅglā*, which is given to the huts of which they are counterparts, and in their details leave out nothing which can be easily imitated in brick, or stucco. Few, however, we fancy, would venture to appeal to them as evidences of a recent transition from wood to brick in Agra, Delhi, or Bengal.

Mr. Fergusson is startled to find at Bijapur, some fifteen centuries after the Christian era, "a recurrence to the same principle. The balconies with their hoods, and the brackets which support these, are the principal ornaments in the four faces of this little monument" (Mehtari Mahal), "yet every part of their construction, every detail of their ornament, is evidently copied from a wooden original. We find the same balconies used at the present day ; and in any city between Benares, and Boorhanpur similar objects might be found with almost identical details, but always constructed in wood. From the remains of Hindu temples we know that stone architecture did exist in the Deccan for centuries before Beejapoor was founded."[48] To account for this anomaly the learned author continues : "It is clear, however, that the Moslims could have had very little experience in building in stone when this work was undertaken, and as little knowledge of their own style as then practised at Agra and Delhi. They must also have been actuated by a wonderful aversion to anything savouring of Hinduism, when they designed a building so original as this, and one so manifestly unlike anything to be found in the country in which they had settled."[49] Bearing in mind, however, that the Moslim population of the south was formed of a miscellaneous collection of foreigners, Pathāns, Moghals, Abyssinians, and others, the bulk proceeding from the north ; that everywhere these men adapted Hindu buildings and temples to serve as mosques ; and that the founder of the Bahminy dynasty, Allauddin Hussan, (1347 A.D.), was a native of Delhi who expelled the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak from Dowlatabad where he had transferred the capital of the Pathān empire, it is difficult to believe they were so perfectly ignorant of stone architecture as to be under the necessity of copying from wood, and still more difficult to suppose that those who built the largest dome on earth, between 1640 A.D. and 1660 A.D., larger even than that of St. Peter at Rome, had, three reigns anteriorly, between 1550 and 1557, so little experience in building in stone, as to copy from wood, and that at a time when the intercourse between [23] the north and the south, was perfectly uninterrupted for considerably over three centuries. We believe survival of custom exerted a much more potent influence in such cases than ignorance. Adverting to the caves of Kennari, at Salsette, Mr. Fergusson observes : "Although the style begins in wood and ends in stones, it is not a little startling to find so little change either in the plan, or general disposition of these caves, during the ten centuries through which we can

48. *Architecture at Beejapoor*, p. 87. 49. *Loc. cit.*

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certainly trace them,"[50] and to account for the peculiarity he adds, "The cave at Kennari, or the last at Ajunta, is practically identical with that at Karli, in so far as its general plan and design is concerned, and even the last retains so strongly a reminiscence of its wooden origin, that we have little reason to doubt, that the practice of erecting such halls in that perishable material was continued contemporaneously."[51] This solution of the difficulty, however, is by no means favourable to the position assumed by the author, that architecture in India must have commenced after the invasion of Alexander, (250 B.C.) because all the earliest specimens show traces of their wooden origin. If those traces are visible in stone structures raised twelve centuries afterwards, and may be accounted for by the assumption of imitation from contemporaneous structures, the argument would lose little of its force when applied to the erections and excavations of the time of Aśoka, and of his immediate successors. Wooden houses have existed at all times, and exist to this day ; but they afford no reason to suppose that races who have known stone houses for a thousand years, in copying wooden features in stone, do so directly from wood, and not from stone which has preserved those features from generation to generation in a country, like India, where custom has exercised the most despotic sway, and held the mind of man in such abject slavery.

The question may be here raised as to how far the ancient Aryans were indebted to the Tamulians for their knowledge of stone architecture ? On the one hand, the extract from the *Ṛgveda* given above, show clearly that the walled cities which excited the cupidity and envy of the Aryans, were mostly owned by the aboriginal Asuras ; and there is not quite as much said of loudly edifices constructed by the Aryans themselves. At a later date, Vyāsa, in the *Mahābhārata*, acknowledges that the great palace of Yudhiṣṭhira was built by a Dānava, Maya by name, who had been overcome by Arjuna in battle ; and an admission like this, in a work designed exclusively to extol the greatness of the Aryan race, is of considerable importance. An abstract of a work by this Dānava is still extant. Further, the remains of Tamulian architecture existing in the present day, are more voluminous, more extensive, and more elaborate than Aryan remains. And all these tend to show the superiority of the Tamulians in architecture, and the likelihood of their having been the first teachers in the art to the Aryans. On the other hand, the oldest Indian specimens of the art are not Tamulian, but Buddhist; and they do not bear a close family resemblance to the Tamulian specimens now available ; and the relative positions of the Aryans and Tamulians in the scale of civilization were such as not by any means to warrant the assumption that the latter were teachers and the former the taught, in so essential a civilizing art as architecture. The *Ṛgveda* does not profess to treat of the comparative status of architecture among the Asuras and the Aryans, but to glorify the latter by showing how they overcame mighty enemies,—a feeling which has, even in modern times, very largely coloured the despatches of great commanders in the field of battle. The employment of Maya as an architect may be, likewise, due to a similar feeling, proving how complete was his subjugation. Besides,

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50. *Loc. cit.* 51. *History of Architecture*, II, p. 491.

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all the mediaeval Tamulian temples are sanctuaries for divinities borrowed from the Hindus, and it is natural to suppose that the temples have followed the images from the same source, even as Native Christian Churches in India, in the present day, follow the order of architecture with which Christianity is associated by the proselytes, and prayers are held most appropriate under Saxon or Italian towers and steeples. On the whole, however, so little is known of ancient Tamulian art as distinct from Aryan, that no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at under this head.

But whatever the origin or the age of ancient Indian architecture, looking to it as a whole it appears perfectly self-evolved, self-contained, and independent of all extraneous admixture. It has its peculiar rules, its proportions, its particular features,—all bearing impress of a style that has grown from within,—a style which expresses in itself what the people, for whom, and by whom, it was designed, thought, and felt, and meant, and not what was supplied to them by aliens in creed, colour and race. A few insignificant ornaments apart, its merits and its defects are all its own, and the different forms it has assumed in different provinces are all modifications, or adaptations, to local circumstances, of one primitive idea. It may, therefore, be treated by itself without reference to foreign art.

Most of the oldest remains now accessible, are, as already stated, Buddhist, and they are monumental in their character, either *tumuli* over the remains of the dead, or pillars and inscriptions bearing royal mandates. Aśoka is said to have built innumerable temples ; but no unquestionably authentic remains thereof are now to be met with. The caves of Khaṇḍagiri, which are [24] likewise of Buddhist origin, afford examples of the style of dwellings common during the second and the third centuries before the Christian era, and probably for some time earlier ; but they include no structures that may be strictly called temples. The Behar caves, however, which are of a somewhat later age, have halls with an apse at one end enclosing a *caitya*, and designed expressly for public worship. Some of the oldest caves of Western India improved upon this idea, and produced more ostentatious places for the purpose. Leaving them aside, and generalising upon built temples, and temples only, we find the Buddha-gayā and the Nālandā Buddhist temples so closely similar to Hindu structures of the same class that their style may be very strictly described as common to both the Hindus and the followers of Śākya on this side of the Nurbudda, and be appropriately designated, the Indo-Aryan, or Northern India. But as it took a wide range under the Buddhists, and assumed very diverse forms in different parts of India, as also in Burmah, Ceylon and Java, Mr. Fergusson has made two distinct classes of it, separating the purely Hindu forms of the class under the head of Northern Hindu, and leaving the rest as Buddhist. Both these classes have single chambers, surmounted with more or less sloping towers or steeples ; whereas the Tamulian temples are many-chambered and many storied, the upper stories gradually receding, till reduced to a single small chamber, which is surmounted with a dimical structure. Thus the latter differ materially from the style familiar with the Northern Indian races, and form a

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separate class. It is, however, not unknown in Northern India, for both in Bengal and the Upper Provinces many examples of it under the name of *Pañcaratna*, *Navaratna*[52] &c., may be met with, some of considerable age : there they appear as strictly Hindu—a variety, but still a variety, of Hindu structures,—and not Tamulian. The northern Hindu class of temples have several subordinate groups or orders, of which (a) the Orissan or Central Indian, (b) the Bengali, and (c) the Northern Indian, styles, are the most prominent. Examples of the first style are to be met with in the whole of Orissa, in Sambhalpur and Chutia Nagpur, in the eastern parts of Central India, and the southern part of Behar. The second style is confined within the limits of Bengal proper. The third takes the whole sweep of Northern India, from Benares to Guzerat. The temples of Kashmir constitute a class by themselves, being Indian in plan, but peculiar in their details and ornaments. Some of the later Northern Indian temples shew a considerable admixture of Saracenic elements in their composition, and these may be fitly included in a distinct order, the transitional, or mixed style. Thus we have—

Class.	Order.
I.—Buddhist.	1. Northern Indian. 2. Southern Indian. 3. Singalese. 4. Burmese. 5. Javan. 6. Nepalese.
II.—Jain.	
III.—Northern Hindu	1. Orissan or Central Indian. 2. Bengali. 3. Northern Indian. 4. Transitional or Indo-Saracenic.
IV.—Southern Hindu or Tamulian.	
V.—Cashmerian.	

This classification of temples is no doubt tentative—purely provisional for the time, and adopted with a view to convenience, until a more reliable one is developed by further research. In drawing it out we have directed our attention more to general outlines and plans, than to ornaments and architectural details, for they have been so extensively interchanged, or used in common, that it would be relying on broken reeds to accept them as guides to classification. Thus for instance, the crucial capitals, which have been accepted by many as positively and unmistakably Buddhist, occur alike on Buddhist, Hindu and Jain temples. Mouldings, bands, brackets, cornices niches, are also alike on Hindu and Buddhist fanes, and it is often difficult if not impossible, to pronounce upon the character of a building in the absence of especial sectarial marks, or specially sectarian ornaments, such as the Buddhist rail and the like.

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52. One of the oldest, and most sumptuous of this class in Bengal is the temple of Kāntanagar in Dinajpur.

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It should be observed also that the classification here adopted is not recognised in old Sanskrit works on architecture. They all treat of the subject as one whole without any reference to sects and nationalities. The treatise of Maya, the Dānava, does not, in this respect, differ from that of Viśvakarmā, the architect of the gods. The differences of the two authors refer to [25] details and modes of treatment, and not to general principles, which are alike in all. For instance, the *Mānasāra,* an elaborate treatise on architecture of an early date, alludes to the peculiarities of Buddhist and Jaina images, and the different modes of placing them in temples; but the rules of building and proportion are the same in it as in the *Maya Śilpa.* It should be added, however, that when the different works whose names have already been met with are all discovered, and carefully examined, and compared with the detached notices which occur in the Purāṇas, the Tantras, and other works, the public will be in a better position than now to arrive at a positive opinion on the subject. Of works principally devoted to architecture, Rām Rāz notices the following : viz., 1. *Mānasāra* ; 2. *Mayamata* ; 3. *Kāśyapa* ; 4. *Vayghānasa* ; 5. *Sakalādhikāra* ; 6. *Viśvakarmīya* ; 7. *Sanatkumāra* ; 8. *Sārasvatyam.* Of these different works he had considerable portions of the first four, and a few detached chapters of each of the rest. The Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains a MS. of the first, but it does not correspond with the text of Rām Rāz in any particular : it extends to forty-six chapters, while that of Rām Rāz comprises fifty-eight, and the topics, though the same, are differently arranged. A manuscript received from Tanjore corresponds in the number of its chapters with the Asiatic Society's MS.; but its chapters are shorter and very corrupt, and the topics are different. It differs from the others also in naming the work *Mānavasāra* instead of *Mānasāra.*

Rām Rāz's descripition of the second corresponds very closely with the Tanjore text, which bears the name of *Maya Śilpa,* alias *Maya-mata,* alias *Vāstuśāstra,* alias *Pritiṣṭhāna Tantra.* It is written in the Tāntric style and evidently belongs to a much later age than that of the Pāṇḍus for whom its reputed author, Maya,[53] built a palace, or that of Daśaratha for whom, according to Rām Rāz, he is likewise said to have

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53. Dr. Weber surmises that Maya is the Sanskrit form of Ptolemaios, the author of the *Almagest.* He writes the word *asuramaya* ; in Sanskrit writings it often occurs in the form of *mayadānava* ; but *asura* and *dānava* are used as synonymous terms, both meaning a demon, a Titan, a giant, and therefore either term may be used at option as an epithet for Maya. Literally *maya* may be accepted as the Sanskrit rendering of *maios* ; but it would leave the first two syllables, *ptole,* unaccounted for. Dr. Weber does not say in so many words that those syllables are represented by the epithet *asura,* but he so uses the epithet along with Maya as to indicate that he means it. No recognised law of Philology, however, will accept *asura* to be the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek *ptole.* In the 13th Aśoka edict, Ptolemaios appears as Turamāya, and the *Mahābhārata,* if we take it to have been written after Aśoka, should have adopted the same spelling. Claudius Ptolemy, the author of the *Almagest,* lived in the second century (140-160) A.C., and the date therefore of the *Mahābhārata* has to be brought down to at least three centuries

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built a royal residence. The MS. is incomplete and corrupt. It is written in verse, and extends to nineteen hundred verses, divided into twenty-six chapters as follows : 1. Architecture defined ; 2-3. Examination and purification of the grounds intended to be built upon ; 4. Measurement of land ; 5. Ascertainment of the points of the compass ; 6. Fixing of pegs to demarcate the spots for building ; 7. Offerings to gods ; 8-9. Measures for villages and rules for laying out towns and villages ; 10. Direction for laying out squares, octagons, &c. ; 11. Laying the foundation of a house, and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion ; 12. Plinths ; 13. Bases ; 14. Pillars ; 15. Stone work ; 16. Joining and cementation ; 17. Spires or tops of houses ; 18. One-storeyed houses ; 19. Two-storeyed houses ; 20-21. Three, four, &c, storeyed houses ; 22. *Gopuras* or gates ; 23. *Maṇḍapas* ; 24. Out-offices, barns, treasuries, &c.; 25. Open courts or *choultrees* ; 26. Linear measure. On the whole the work sticks pretty closely to architecture, and indulges very little in astrological vagaries, which prevail so greatly in the other works.

Of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, and 8th works of Rām Rāz's list I have as yet not been able to procure any exemplar. Rām Rāz gives no detailed description of the 6th. I have seen three recensions of it. The first, from Tanjore, is, like the *Maya Śilpa*, written in the Tāntric style having Śiva for its narrator. Its contents are : I. Origin of Viśvakarmā; derivation of the words *takṣaka* (carpenter), *vardhaki* (sculptor), &c. II. Height of man in the different ages of the world; wood and stone for the formation of

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after that ; so that an Ionian may be represented as a giant fighting with a Hindu prince, without causing any misgiving in the minds of the readers of the narrative, as to its authenticity. But the *Mahābhārata*, in the course of its hundred thousand verses, nowhere alludes to Buddhism or Buddha, and must therefore, and on other grounds not worth naming here, date from before the birth of Śākya ; or at least the 6th century B. C., and to bring it down to the middle of the fifth century of the Christian era, on the strength of *maya* being similar in sound to the last two syllables of a Greek name, the first two syllables being overlooked, or represented by an epithet in direct opposition to all laws of Philology, would be to subvert all historical consistency. Nothing short of the intrepidity of a Wilford could accept such a major for a historical argument ; and I must confess my inability to appeciate the value of such a system of logic. Had the work of Maya as it originally existed been compared with the *Almagest*, or any other work on architecture by Ptolemy, and found to correspond, there would have been very good reason for accepting the surmise to be well-founded ; but in the absence of such proof, it is futile to urge it as an argument. The *Maya Śilpa*, as it now exists, treats of architecture solely as shown above, and the *Almagest* has "various problems of the ancients both in geometry and astronomy" for its subjects, and between the two there can be no comparison. Ptolemy also wrote a great work on geography, but that too cannot be compared with the *Maya Śilpa*. He is said by Dr. Weber to have built some palaces, but nobody has yet asserted that he ever wrote any treatise on architecture.

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images. III. Sacraments for soulptors and carpenters. IV. Halls for the consecration of Śiva and other gods. V. Proportions of images of the planets and *lingams*. VI. Formation of cars. VII. Consecration of cars. VIII. Forms of Brāhmī, Maheśvarī, and other goddesses. IX. Sacrificial or Brahmanical thread. X. Sacrificial threads of gold, silver, and *muñja* fibre ; the different sides where images of gods and goddesses are to be placed ; qualities of a kind of stone called *Hemaśilā* or "golden stones", to be found to the south of the Meru mountain. XI. Images of Indra, Maheśvarī, and other gods and goddesses. XII-XIII. Crowns, crests, and other head [26] ornaments. XIV. Movable and fixed thrones for images ; crests and other ornaments for the head ; repairs of temples. XV. Proportions of doors of temples for *lingams*. XVI. Proportions of doors for other temples. XVII. Temples for Vighneśa. Most of these chapters appear imperfect and fragmentary, and the work is obviously incomplete.

The second belongs to the Library of the late Sir Rājā Rādhākānta Deva. It bears the name of *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, and comprises thirteen chapters as follows : I. Introduction, selection of different kinds of land for building houses for Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, &c. II. Months appropriate for commencing a building, the area whereof is to be regulated by the cubit of the owner, or of his wife, or of his son. III. Astral influence on buildings. IV. Bedsteads, shoes, houses, roads, *Maṇḍapa* and other objects. V. Offerings to certain gods. VI. Various kinds of houses, and making of bricks and other building materials. VII. Size of doors to be regulated by the planet which presided on the natal hour of the person who causes the house to be built. VIII. Direction, for making houses, tanks, wells, &c. IX. Ditto for cutting down trees. X. Ditto for entering a new house. XI. Rules for building fortifications. XII. Removal of bones &c. from the ground before building thereon. XIII. Characteristics of houses of different kinds, and their appurtenances.

The third belongs to the Library of the Asiatic Society (No. 629). In some places it bears the special title of *Aparājita-pṛcchā*, in other *Jñāna-ratnakoṣa*. Like the preceding two, it is written in the Tāntric style ; but the narrator, instead of being Śiva, is Viśvakarmā. It comprises thirty-five Sūtras, some of which are evidently quotations from other works. It treats of architecture and sculpture, but in a very desultory and imperfect way. None of these works, however, has yet been analysed and reported upon, and there is so little before the public besides the details, meagre at best, in the essay of Rām Rāz on Indian architecture, that it would be quite unsafe to arrive at anything like a definite conclusion on the question. The Tanjore MSS. above referred to have been received through the kindness of Mr. A. C. Burnell of the Madras Civil Service, and I have obtained two others [54] from Northern India. The South Indian treatises abound in Kanarese and Tamil words, and both the northern and the southern codices are full of technical terms, all but perfectly unintelligible to me. The MSS. procured by Rām Rāz were equally puzzling. Describing them he says : "Mutilated as they invariably are in many important parts, almost every line of them is not only disfigured by gross

54. *Śilpa Śāstra*, Vāstupradīpa.

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errors, perpetuated by a succession of ignorant transcribers ; but the technical terms and memorial verses with which the whole abounds are so little understood either by the artists or the *paṇḍits* of the present day that it requires no ordinary exertion to comprehend and explain the exact import of even a single section."[55] In Bengal there are no artists who have any knowledge of the subject, nor any *paṇḍit* who is acquainted with more than the name of the *Śilpa Śāstra*, and unaided by practical knowledge the subject would require a much deeper and a more thorough study than what I can at present afford, to ensure anything like a reliable and useful summary. A few extracts from some of the works to illustrate particular topics will be given lower down.

Of the several styles enumerated above, the most important for the purposes of this work are the Buddhist and the Central Indian ; the remains at Khaṇḍagiri belonging to the former style, and the Hindu temples throughout Orissa to the latter.

CHAPTER II

[27] Construction of Orissan Temples. Shape of the original habitation of man. Oldest lithic monuments, rectangular. Indian temples, cubical. Module of Benares temples. Bengali temples. Orissan temples ; their projections ; steeples ; upper chambers ; plinths ; pinnacles ; porches ; dancing halls ; refectories ; court-yards ; entrance gates. Materials used in the construction of the temples,—laterite, sandstone, chlorite, granite, gneiss. Mode of building ; irregular, horizontal, and cyclopean styles. Mortar ; clamps ; ghocting or *kaṅkar* cement ; arohitraves ; beams ; wood.

Considerable difference of opinion exist as to the form which was first adopted by man for the formation of his dwelling. The models he had before him to work upon were natural caves or caverns, which were all more or less rounded, and deficient in sharp well-marked angles, and they led to the theory that the earliest habitations of the human race were circular in plan and rounded in form. In support of this opinion, it is said that the dwellings of the ancient Gauls were circular huts built with wood, and lined with mud ; and the pile huts of Switzerland were of a similar nature.[1] On the other hand, nothing was likely to prove more troublesome to primitive builders than circular designs, and the earliest examples of dwellings still extant in America, Africa, and Oceania, are mostly rectangular, i.e. those houses which are intended to be permanent and fixed, have

55. Rām Rāz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, p. 3.

1. Lubbock thinks they were rectangular. *Prehistoric Times*, p. 126.

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straight sides, and rectangular corners, while those which are intended to be easily moved about, are more or less circular. Ascending from wood, wattle and mud to bricks and stones, this view of the question appears to receive peculiar confirmation ; for the oldest houses and temples were, with a few rare exceptions, straight-lined in their ground plan, and perpendicular for at least a part of their height. The oldest lithic monuments of human art still extant, are the Pyramids of Egypt, and their chambers bear out this opinion in every particular. They are all rectangular enclosures with upright walls. The temples of that country were also of the same character, and the palaces of Assyria and Babylon did not anywhere depart from this rule. Some of the Pelasgic tombs in Greece enclosed circular chambers ; but as they were erected long after the time of the first ten dynasties of Manetho, and produced at a period when the art of building had been brought to a comparatively high state of improvement, they cannot controvert the theory regarding the outline of the earliest buildings. It may be stated, however, that while in buildings the circular form is difficult, in graves, it is the simplest, and most readily produced, nature helping in a few years to complete where the art of man fails to attain the object, and the transition from the circular to the rectangular plan, as in the Pyramids, implies a considerable advance in civilization and architectural ingenuity.

Ground plans of temples : As regards temples in Northern India, the rectangular plan was everywhere the most prevalent, and it is difficult to notice an exception to the rule. At first sight the topes may appear to be different ; but if their character be carefully studied it will be found, that there was no departure from the rectangular design of temples. The Dehgopas of Burmah are mere local adaptations of the Indian tope, and none of them is of greater antiquity than the middle of the 6th century A.D., and as they are funeral, or cinerary monuments, and not temples, they may be left altogether out of consideration. It is said that there are, in some parts of Bengal, temples designed for the observance of the mystic rites enjoined in the Tantras, which are triangular in their ground plan ; but as they are recent structures, designed for a sectarial purpose, they do not contradict the remark regarding the primitive form of Indian temples. Generally speaking, temples in Northern India are not only rectangular in plan, but cubical in the form of their body. From Orissa to the foot of the Himālaya, there is scarcely a single exception to this rule.[2] In the *Agni Purāṇa*,[3] it is ordained, that the ground plan of every building should have four equal sides, and the *Jñāna-ratna-prakāśa*[4] and the *Mānasāra* support the same opinion. Figures of Viṣṇu and some other divinities may be found located in oblong rooms, but such structures are nowhere reckoned as temples (*mandirs*). Again, in Southern India, the square chamber for temples appears to be the rule, and oblong cells the exception.

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2. The chamber of the Jyeṣṭheśvara temple on the Takht i Suleman hill, in Kāshmir, is circular, but its ground plan is a square with the corners notched with three salient and four re-entering angles.

3. *Agni Purāṇa*, Ed. *Bib. Ind*, p. 122.

4. MS. As. Soc. *J.R.P.*, fol. 51.

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[28] Ground plans of houses : In the case of buildings other than temples, the ground plan no doubt varied according to circumstances, and works on architecture describe a great number of forms. The *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*, an astrological work ascribed to Rājā Bhoja of Dhār, enumerates sixteen different kinds as the most noteworthy. These are : (i) oblong,—*Āyata* ; (ii) square,—*caturasra* ; (iii) circular,—*vṛtta* ; (iv) oblong, with a rectangular court-yard in the middle, very like the Roman compluvium,—*bhadrāsana* ; (v) discus-shaped, i.e. circular with lunette projections, or wings, on the four sides,—*cakra* ; (vi) linear or long and narrow with two unequal wings,—*viṣamabāhu* ; (vii) triangular,—*trikoṇa* ; (viii) cart-shaped, or quadrangular with a long triangular projection on one side,—*śakatākṛta* ; (ix) staff-like or long and narrow like a barrack,—*daṇḍa* ; (x) quadrangular, with the opposite sides hollow-arched, or concave, like the mouth of the musical instrument called *paṇava*,—*paṇavasaṃsthāna*; (xi) like the musical instrument called *muraja*, (I know not what this is) ; (xii) wide-fronted,—*vṛhanmukham* ; (xiii) heart-shaped like a palm-leaf fan,—*vyajana* ; (xiv) circular with five projections like a tortoise with its four projecting feet, and head ; (xv) arched like a bow,—*dhanuḥ* ; (xvi) horse-shoe shaped like the winnowing fan,—*śūrpa*.[5] Of these the oblong with a rectangular court-yard in the middle was held in the highest estimation, and still continues the favourite, almost every Hindu dwelling house of any pretension in Bengal being built in that plan, whence *bhadrāsana* has become the ordinary name of a dwelling house in the present day ; and in the north-west it is very common. For comfort, convenience, light, and ventilation, it is perhaps the best that could be designed in a warm climate and it is worthy of note that European architects have of late adopted it in designing several public buildings in Bengal. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, which dates from the first century before Christ, there is an account of a house of this description, which had successively eight court-yards ;[6] and the grandeur of a house is generally reckoned in almost every part of India in accordance with the number of court-yards it comprises. The merits of these several kinds of houses are thus described in the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa* : "The oblong insures success everywhere ; the square brings in money ; the circular promotes health and prosperity ; the rectangular with a courtyard fulfils all desires ; the lunetted-wheel causes poverty, and the unequal-winged bereavement ; the triangular makes the owner a king, and the cart-shaped leads to loss of wealth. Cattle die away if the plan be staff-like, and vision is lost by the *paṇava* shape. The *muraja* shape causes the death of the owner's wife ; the wide front loss of wealth ; and the fan shape, loss of situation. The tortoise leads to theft, so does the bow shape ; while the horse-shoe form causes loss of wealth."[7] Regarding the nature of the ground on which the house is to be built, it is said : "men prosper,

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5. āyataṃ caturasrañca pravṛttaṃ bhadrāsanantathā /
cakraṃ viṣamabāhuñca trikoṇaṃ śakaṭākṛtim //
daṇḍaṃ paṇavasaṃsthānaṃ murajañca vṛhanmukhaṃ /
vyajanaṃ kūrmarūpañca dhanuḥ śūrpañca ṣoḍaśaḥ //
6. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, I, p. 82.
7. *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa*.

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if the ground slope to the east ; wealth is acquired, if the southern side be elevated, but it is lost if the west side slope down, and there is certain destruction if the north side be high."[8] As domestic architecture, however, does not fall within the scope of this work, it is not necessary to enquire into the subject further.

Relative proportions of Benares temples : According to the builders of Benares, the body of the temple is the module upon which the rest of its parts are to be calculated. The length, breadth and height of the body should be the same and its steeple, *Surrā*, SK. *cūḍā*, should vary according to the size of the temple and the number of pinnacles it is intended to bear, from $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ lengths.[9] The plinth is to be one-ninth of the total length, i.e., one yard if the temple be nine yards high. The door in that case should be 7 feet 5 inches by 4 feet 9. In small-sized temples the door is generally one-fourth of the cube. The first member above the spire, is a thick square plate named the *Rāmarekhā*, from certain denticulations on its edges, having some resemblance to the sectarial mark of the followers of Rāma,—a common ornament of the upper edge of projecting stones. In a temple 9 yards in height, it should be 12 inches in depth. It is intended to cover the vent of the spire, and form the basement of the *kalaśa*, or crowning member of the spire. Above it is placed a small compressed ribbed dome, 15 inches thick, the [29] *āmra*, or *amlaśilā*, so called from its resemblance to the fruit of the emblic myrobolan. In the *Agni Purāṇa*, and in the *Mānasāra*, it is named Udumbara, and likened to the fruit of the *Ficus glomerata*. It is surmounted by a ribbed conical construction called *morā*, and having very much the appearance of ribbed, inverted funnel, or a lotus reversed, 9 inches long. It has been, by some, called an umbrella.

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8. *Ibid.*

9. The head *mistri* of the Mahārājā of Vizianagaram is my principal authority, and I had his opinion tested by two other builders at Benares. The practice is to divide the temple into three parts ; (1) the plinth or *kursi* : (2) the body or *janghi*, including the cornice and the base mouldings ; (3) the spire or *cūḍā*, comprising base mouldings, spire proper, turrets, pinnacle, trident, and flagstaff. James Prinsep has noticed the same arrangement, but he does not give their relative proportions. Prinsep's *Benares*. Under the head of elevation of a Hindu Temple, Rām Rāz quoting Kāśyapa, classifies all temples into five classes according to their respective heights. These are (1) *sāntika*, "moderate", (2) *pauṣṭika*, "bulky" ; (3) *jayada*, "triumphant" ; (4) *adbhuta*, "admirable" ; and (5) *sarvakāma*, "all-pleasing" ; the breadth of these five kinds of temples being divided into seven, six, five, four and three parts in due order ; ten, nine, eight, and seven of those parts are given to their respective heights" (*Arch. of the Hindus*, p. 49). General Cunningham has reduced these proportions into the following tabular form :

(1)	Modest,	height	1 3/7	breadth
(2)	Bulky,	,,	1 1/2	,,
(3)	Triumphant	,,	1 3/5	,,
(4)	Wonderful,	,,	1 3/4	,,
(5)	All-pleasing,	,,	2	,,

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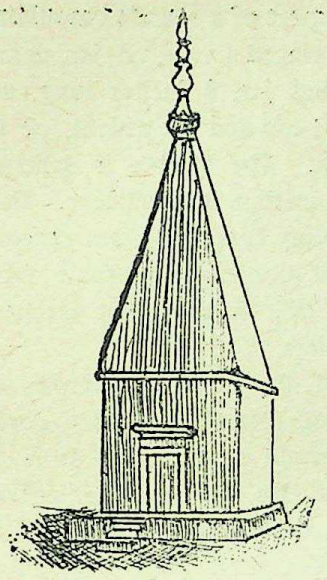

Fig. 9 Primitive Benares Temple

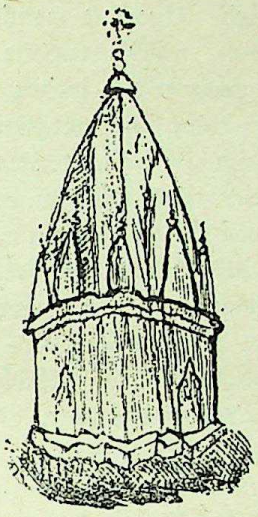

Fig. 10 Typical Benares Temple

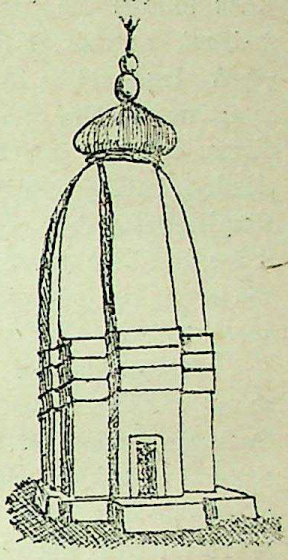

Fig. 11 Typical Orissa Temple

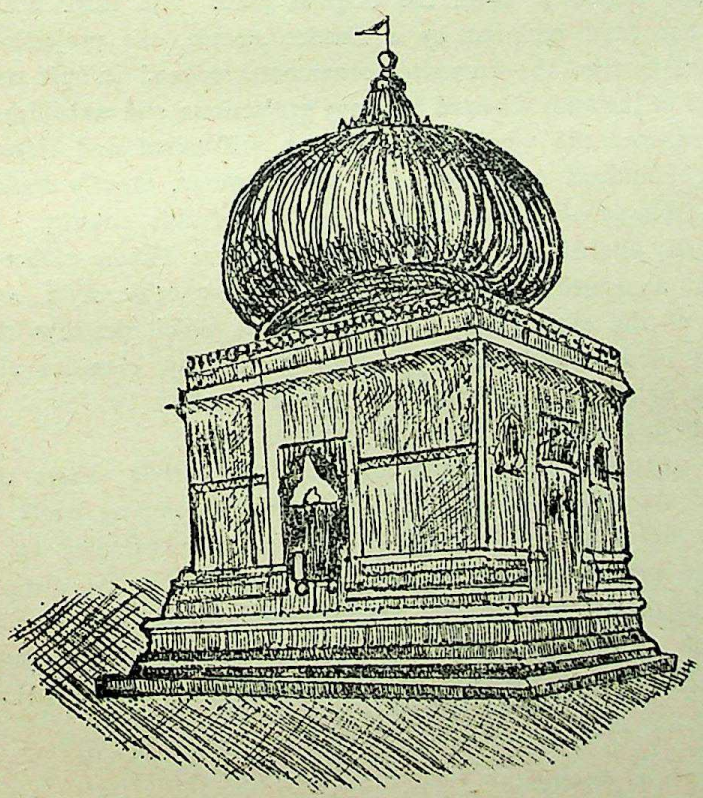

Fig. 12 Indo-Saracenic Temple.

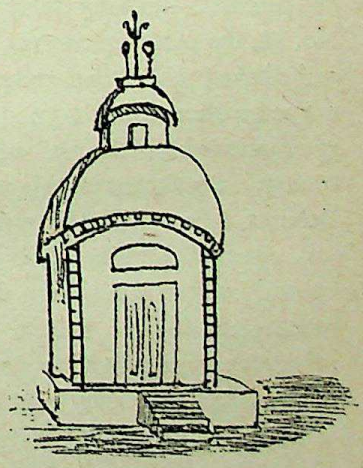

Fig. 13 Bengali Temple

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Then follows the neck, *galā*, 2½ inches, serving as the support of a rounded moulding, *kaṅgani*, 3 inches thick. A neck then follows, and on it is placed a vase, or jar, named *gāgri*. It should be 18 inches high. Upon it stands a second jar, 9 inches long, and sometimes a third of a smaller size, which supports the metal cap and the trident, or the discus, each of which should measure 18 inches in length. The steeple is generally slender, having straight sloping sides, but occasionally its outline is curvilinear. In its simplest form, the steeple rises from above the cornice without any basement ; but generally it has four little turrets or pinnacles, *khirkibhadras*, on the four corners : in ornate forms the turrets are ranged in tiers, and their number is multiplied till, in the most elaborate specimens, there are as many as 108 of them, arranged in six tiers.

Various kinds of temple compared : Two specimens of this form of temples are shown on the margin, (woodcuts, Nos. 9 and 10). The first (No. 9) has been copied from an original in the neighbourhood of Viśveśvara's temple at Benares. It is the simplest of its kind, and has a perfectly plain spire. The second (No. 10) has the surfaces of its walls and spire broken by light projections, and its corners set off by partially attached turrets, but without any attempt at ornamentation. The most perfect specimens of this style are seen in the temples of Viśveśvara and Kedāra at Benares.[10] If they be compared with the Orissan form as delineated in woodcut No. 11, it will at once be perceived that the latter had supplied the model on which the former has been built, but that the builders have greatly improved upon the original plan. The thick heavy tower of the primitive design has been replaced by a slender steeple, the projections thereon by more or less attached turrets, the crowning ornaments reduced in bulk and improved in appearance, the walls of the body divested of heavy projections, and embellished with a number of delicate pilasters, and the whole set off on a well-raised and elegant plinth. All the improvements, additions and alterations are, however, strictly Indian and original,—nothing borrowed from people beyond the boundary of this country. In No. 12, the case is, however, entirely altered. In it the body of a pure Hindu edifice is embellished with foiled arches and decorated battlements in the true Saracenic style, and capped with a ribbed dome [30] of the same order,—a combination which destroys the peculiarities of both, and results in a hybrid entirely devoid of majesty, elegance and beauty. Specimens of this mixed, or transitional, style of construction may be found in Benares, Allahabad, Mathurā, and in the Western Presidency generally.

Bengali Temple : No. 13, represents a specimen of the Bengali style, where the cubical body of a northern temple is covered over by four curvilinear sloping roofs in exact imitation of thatch, and the point of junction at the centre surmounted by a miniature representation of the original construction. This structure has no distinct cornice, its place being supplied by the arched ends of the projecting roofs under which ornamentations are produced with great care to represent the ends of the frame work. This style is distinct from that of Benares on the one side, and of Orissa on the other,

10. Vide Prinsep's *Illustration of Benares*.

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and hence it is, that it has become necessary to divide into three groups the style which Mr. Fergusson has included under one name.

Shape of Orissan temples : The Orissan temple in its simplest form is a cube, rising from the ground without a plinth, and its tower is the result of four battered walls gradually approaching each other to supply the place of a roof, the top a frustum—being closed in with a thick slab, which in the Benares, or the Jain style, is represented by the Rāmrekhā. Such a chamber dedicated to an image can require but one doorway, and the first idea of ornamentation would be suggested by the necessity of a dripstone, or hood-mould, or weather-moulding over it to throw off rain. To render this moulding effectual, its projection should be considerable, and to support it, two pilasters become absolutely necessary. These produce the most primitive porch, and a great number of such structures may be seen in every part of Orissa. From pilasters, to pillars the transition is easy enough, but it has not been frequent, the great majority of temples having pilasters, and not pillars. The foundation of these pilasters causes the first break in the square ground-plan of the earliest temples. Vide woodcut, No. 14. *A priori*, one may suppose that poverty of invention, or more probably a love for symmetry, would lead to a repetition of the projection on all the four sides of the temple chamber, and this is exactly what is met with in the fanes of Bhuvaneśvara and Puri—a square outline with four projections as shewn on the margin : woodcut No. 15. The projections in such cases are not deep, and the pillars, when employed, occur only on the side of the

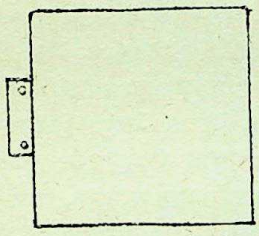

Fig. 14.

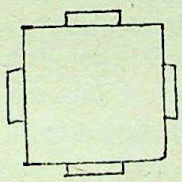

Fig. 15.

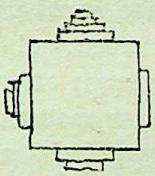

Fig. 16.

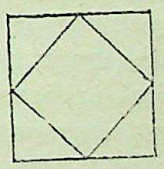

Fig. 17

entrance. The proportion of the projection to the entire length of the temple varies from 1 to 3 to 2 to 5. The depth of the projections varies even more largely ; indeed it is doubtful if there ever was any fixed rule on the subject.

When the architectural advantage of these projections was once perceived, and the nakedness of large walls had to be covered, they were repeated two, three or four times, as is to be seen in the temples of Rājarāṇī, Kapileśvara, Rāmeśvara, &c., &c., (woodcut No. 16). The next step towards improvement, was the development of these projections into distinct pilasters such as are to be seen on the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara. The three-fold projection of each side is there converted into seven pilasters by slight intermediate breaks, and the artistic effect is thereby very much heightened. On the great tower of Bhuvaneśvara and other large structures, the same arrangement has been carried out to great advantage. When these projections are particularly deep, and the intermediate spaces wide, they assume the character of buttresses,

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which add considerably both to the mechanical strength and the beauty of the buildings by an agreeable play of light and shade. But whether deep and wide, or flat and narrow, they are always carried on along the whole length of the structure to the top of the spire, and when divided into pilasters of low relief, they give a ribbed, or fluted, appearance to the whole. On richly ornamented temples they are, on the steeple, carved into strings of small models of temples in some relief, so as to obviate the aesthetic defect of slender pilasters of great length. On the body of the building, the same object is attained by opening two or three tiers of niches for the reception of statues, or bas-reliefs. At Benares, the projections under notice are either omitted, or shaped into pilasters, and the little models are more or less detached from the spire so as to produce distinct chaplets or pinnacles, which greatly improve the appearance of the building. In Jain temples, these pinnacles are completely detached so as to convert them into little pavilions. In Bengal they are altogether wanting.

Tower : Ignorant of the principles of the true arch, the architects of Orissa found the greatest difficulty in covering large areas with a substantial roofing. The Jain plan of triangular blocks cutting off the corners of the original square, and by two or three repetitions reducing considerably its size, so as ultimately to be fit to be covered by a single block of a moderate size, (woodcut No. 17), was not sufficient for them, and single slabs could seldom be found of sufficient length and breadth, and so free from defect, as to suffice for temples of the size of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. Their only resource was, therefore, the horizontal arch of parallel projecting courses of stone in flat layers, [31] or corbelling which they could carry out to any extent they chose (woodcut No. 18). As they always built with stone, and that material was nowhere scarce, the great thickness required in the supporting walls to resist the weight and thrusts of a large mass of superstructure was, to them, a matter of no consideration, and the great height to which they had to carry their towers to close large areas by very gradual projections, served only to heighten the grandeur and majesty of their sacred piles. The edges of the projecting stones, both within and without, were so cut off, as to produce an even outline ; but sometimes the inner edges were decorated with mouldings, or left untouched, giving to the ceiling the appearance of a flight of steps reversed. The plan of building adopted, was the simplest, and at the same time the most effectual.

In the middle of the 7th century when the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara was erected, the builders had acquired sufficient proficiency in balancing their materials in a projecting arch to avoid the necessity of lofty towers, and yet the artistic effect of the tower being highly prized they generally utilised the space within it by dividing it into two or three stories ; the rooms being used for the deposit of jewelry and other valuable treasures of the temple ; serving thus the same purpose which the *opisthodomus* did in Grecian sanctuaries. The chambers are never accessible to outsiders, and I could not ascertain how they were lighted or ventilated. The stairs are enclosed within one of the walls of the temple, and reached through the sanctuary itself. It is said by the priests at Bhuvaneśvara, that about a hundred years ago, a man had ascended with a lamp in hand

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to the upper story of the Great Tower, but through the displeasure of the presiding divinity, he was suffocated to death before he could attempt to retrace his steps, and that, ever since, nobody had attempted to explore that much dreaded chamber. The tower of the great temple at Puri, has, likewise, some rooms within it but they too are not in use now. These facts suggest the idea, that they are devoid of all opening for light and air, and the mephtic vapours which have accumulated within, render them unapproachable. In the temple at Buddha Gayā, there are two moderate-sized windows to give light to the upper chambers, but I could not perceive the trace of even a breathing hole in any of the Orissan steeples.

Plinth : In plain temples, the plinth is, as already stated, generally wanting, and the body of the edifice rises from the surface of the ground with which the floor is flush. But in elaborate structures there is generally a basement or platform of some pretension, varying in height from two to five or six feet, and diversified by a variety of bands and mouldings, or broken in their outline by projecting pedestals of various shapes.

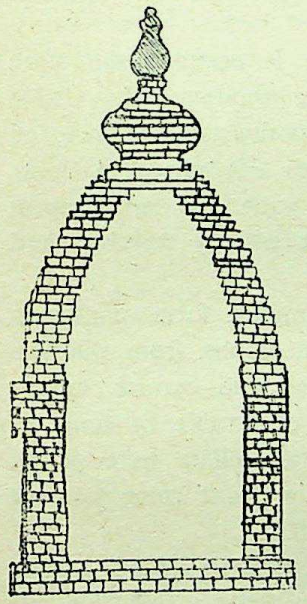

Fig. 18 Seciion of an Orissan Temple

Pinnacle : The pinnacle includes most of the elements of the Benares Kalaśa, but their relative proportions are entirely different. The square plate *rāmarekhā*, on the top of the steeple, is small in size, and of slight thickness, having more the appearance of the plinth of a pillar held very much within the flattened top of the steeple than of a massive covering for the head, projecting considerably beyond its area. It is, besides, invariably plain, and has none of the denticulations which give it its peculiar name. Above it, a narrow neck of low height supports the *amlaśilā*, which, instead of being of the small size and insignificant appearance common at Benares, assumes the proportions of a regular dome. It is invariably solid, compressed, and ribbed, having the appearance of a gigantic melon, the height being about half the horizontal diameter. In building it, eight stones are generally used, four above and four below ; but in small edifices one or two stones suffice for its construction : sometimes a great many stones are used, as shown in the section above. For the support of its projecting edge, four *caryatides*, or lions-couchant, or ugly dwarfs, are commonly employed, and they face the four sides of the body of the temple.

Kalasa : The dome is surmounted successively by the *morā*, and the *kaṅgni*, as at Benares, and thereupon is placed the *kalaśa*, or jar, but its shape is remarkable,—quite different from that of the ordinary Indian pitcher of the present day. After a careful examination of several scores of specimens at Bhuvaneśvara, Puri and the Behar district, I can compare it with nothing so close as a Grecian *amphora*. The body, the neck, and the ornamentation of this vessel, appear to be pretty near copies of European models,

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and yet its presence on edifices, which have nothing else that could bear the most distant resemblance to foreign archetypes, precludes the idea of the model of these jars having been imported from Greece or Italy. The intercourse which formerly existed between the nations of the East and the West, could easily account for the importation of *amphorae*, and other Grecian vessels to India ; but it is impossible to suppose that sacerdotal bigotry would so far yield to aesthetic considerations, as to permit a foreign wine-cup to crown the spires of its holiest temples. I am disposed, therefore, to attribute it to an effort to improve upon the ordinary water jar of the period, resulting in an ornamented specimen of the ancient *ghaḍā*. A well-filled pitcher, on the top of a thatched roof is an important measure of precaution, which people of this country seldom forget, and that it should be reproduced in stone as an ornament among a people, the most conservative of conservatives, is by no means extraordinary ; and that in its transit from earth to stone, it should be improved [32] and embellished is but natural, and a matter of course. In Orissa, the jar is never repeated, but in the North-Western Provinces, where the people carry on their heads two, three and sometimes four pots of different sizes, the *kalaśa* is repeated two or three times on their temples.

The Orissan name for this temple is *devul*, Sanskrit *vimāna*. It occupies the place of the European *naos*, *cella*, *adytum*, *advnov*, or sanctuary, being the abode of the visible representative of the Godhead. It has an *edos* on the side opposite the entrance, on which the image or images are seated. In all well-ordered fanes this raised platform, or throne, is made of stone, and finished with great care ; but in poor and more recent temples it is replaced by a wooden chair. In Śaivite temples, it is entirely wanting, and the image is placed in the centre of the floor.

Porch : Allusion has already been made to the porch in its simplest form, consisting of two pilasters sustaining a projecting weather-moulding. The transitions from pilasters to detached pillars, and from a simple moulding to an architrave and cornice, appear to have taken place at an early date ; for this arrangement is observable in some of the oldest and least pretending edifices. Occasionally, but rarely, the pillars were placed in a recess made for the purpose in the wall, and it gave to the front somewhat the appearance of what in Grecian temples is called *in antis e'n parastádi*.

In the North-Western Provinces two additional columns were soon added, which, with a pyramidal roof, produced a detached pavilion, or kiosk, in front ; and this has since been greatly improved, particularly in Jain temples, by multiplying the columns and extending the area of the building. But in Orissa the change did not sort with the massive character of the larger temples, nor suit the requirements of the priests, who, probably, thought the light admitted into the sanctuary through its single door too much for the mystic character of their rituals, and the generally unattractive appearance of the idols. A walled building was, therefore, preferred to an open, columnar, or arcaded one ; and for the sake of variety, and to mark the distinction between the temple and its porch, its top was closed with a pyramidal roof instead of a steeple. The Orissan name for this structure is *jagamohan*, "the fascinator of the world", for it is from this place that the

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public are allowed to behold the divinity within. It may be compared to the *prodromus* or *pronaos*, of ancient, and the vestibule of mediaeval European temples. According to Kāśyapa, it is the *antarāla* or ante-temple.[11] Its ground plan is generally, though not invariably, square, and its walls are diversified with the same kind of projections as those of the temple itself. At first sight it would appear to differ from the temple in having four doors instead of one; but as frequently, two of them, those on the flanks, are closed either by mullion bars, or lattice work, and the third is brought in contact with the entrance to the temple, there is virtually only one entrance to it.[12] But it differs from the temple in height, in the form of its roof, and in having, in structures of large dimensions, four pillars arranged in two rows, which divide its floor into a nave and two aisles, or make it a distyle hall. Its height is fully one-third less than that of the temple. The plinth is invariably of the same height, the walls to the cornice generally correspond, but the pyramidal roof is entirely different, and so are the decorations on the walls. The roof is a repetition of the cube of the body with the sides and top cut off to produce its peculiar shape. This is, however, not invariably the case : in two or three instances the sloping roof after being carried to some height is broken by a regular clear story with windows opening all round at short intervals to admit light. The truncated top of the pyramid, where the pyramidal form is adopted, is surmounted by a domical structure of which the most prominent members are the same as on the temple viz., the *amla* fruit, and the reversed lotus ; but they are repeated, the lower globe very much compressed and the lotus elongated into an umbrella crown. The upper members remain untouched. The *kalaśa* is a repetition of what occurs on the temple.

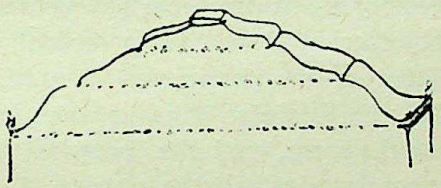

Fig. 19

The constructive peculiarity of the roof will be best understood by a reference to the annexed plates. On the outside it is formed of courses of receding stones, broken at intervals by projecting ledges so placed as to balance the materials, and throw the weight of the roof on the sustaining walls. These ledges are arranged into one, two, or three groups, according to the size of the building, each comprehending four tiers. Sometimes the ledges are wanting as shewn in the woodcut No. 19. The outer borders of the ledges, where they exist, are richly ornamented with floral bands, or groups of animals

11. Rām Rāz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, p. 49.

12. At Koṇārak, all the four entrances are left open and embellished with large figures of horses, lions and elephants. Some of the minor porches, such as that of Paraśurāmeśvara's temple at Bhuvaneśvara, have two or three doors on each side, and their ground-plans are oblong.

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in low relief. The inner face, or ceiling, is built on the same principle, but it is not of a piece with the outer face. It is formed of three independent series of parallel projecting courses with the tops closed in by single slabs, or spanned by iron beams, and covered over by several flags of stone. Probably the ceilings were built first and the outer structure afterwards and independently of it, for the ceilings have dropped down in several ruined porches, leaving the outer shell entire. In small porches, where no pillars are used, triangular slabs placed in the corners, sufficed to support the pyramidal superstructure.

[33] Originally, nothing further was needed to complete a temple, but in course of time two other buildings were added in a line with the porch. The first was called the *nāṭmandir* or "the dancing hall," Sanskrit : *maṇḍapa*,[13] and in front of it, (2nd), the *bhogamandir* or "refectory" ; and all large establishments now include this four-fold arrangement.

Natmandir : The *nāṭmandir*, as its name implies, is a festive hall, large, spacious, and open on all sides, corresponding with the *chaultry*, or "marriage hall" of Southern India, except that the sides are not arcaded, but provided with doors, three to four on each side. Its ground plan, unlike that of the temple and the porch, is oblong, and it is connected with the porch behind, and with the refectory in front. Its roof, like that of the porch, is supported on pillars, and constructed on exactly the same principle, but the peculiar projecting ledges and the pinnacle are wanting, and its slope is less. The walls are devoid of sculptures, and not quite so high as those of the porch. Woodcut No. 19 represents the roof of the dancing hall of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara.

Bhogamandir : The refectory is a square room having only two doors, one opening into the dancing hall, and the other in front. Its pyramidal roof generally, though not invariably, corresponds with that of the porch, and its walls are profusely ornamented with a variety of floral scrolls and mouldings. It is, however, lower than the dancing hall which on its part is lower than the porch, and is in every instance that I have noticed a subsequent addition, and not synchronous with the temple.

Enclosing Wall : This fourfold building is generally surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a large area of ground which forms what was in Grecian temples called *ieron* or *temenos*, "the sacred enclosure," which included all the appurtenances of the sanctuary : sometimes a second wall was built round the first, producing two courtyards, an inner and an outer one. The walls, which may be likened to the *peri Bolos* or sacred fence of the Greeks, were invariably plain, both inside and outside in marked contrast to Buddhist railings which are most elaborately sculptured. At Bhuvaneśvara the wall is capped with a simple coping, sloped on the upper surface, and having a projecting drip to prevent the wet from running down the surface of the wall ; but at Puri and Koṇārak, they are ornamented with Saracenic battlements.

Originally the enclosure contained nothing beyond the main temple and the necessary out-offices, kitchen, &c. ; but the sanctity which attaches to such establishments, induced

13. Rām Rāz writes *maṇṭapa*, but that is not Sanskrit.

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people to avail themselves of every opportunity of dedicating temples erected within the sacred area, and the result is, that the courtyards, as now found, are filled with a large number of fanes of various sizes and diverse pretensions, so crowded together as seriously to mar the beauty of the main buildings.

Direction : All the principal temples face the East, so that the image of the deity within may face the rising god of day, the natural visible emblem of the invisible Godhead. A similar feeling in Greece led, according to Vitruvius, to the entrance to the temples being turned towards the West, so that those who came to worship might behold the statues of the gods towards the East ; but it has also resulted in all its principal temples on the Acropolis and those in Attica, Ionia and Sicily, as also those consecrated to the goddess Athéné—the Hellenic dawn, or Uṣā,—having an easterly direction, and it may fairly be asked if such an idea has had anything to do with the orientation of many Christian churches. It is worthy of remark that Burmese palaces are always so built as to face the East. The word *jhé* in Burmese means both east and front,[14] and many of the chief Buddhist and Jain fanes also face the East ; but the principle which guided their position is unknown. In the case of minor shrines of the Hindus, this rule has not been very strictly observed, and many fanes may be seen that have fronts towards the West, South, or North. They never, however, have departed from one of the cardinal points of the compass, which was, according to the *Śilpa-Śāstra*, invariably ascertained with a gnomon before a building was comemenced. The mode of doing it, is thus described by Rām Rāz : ' "On a smooth level piece of ground is erected a gnomon," which, according to some, should be sixteen *aṅgulas* in height, and of the same diameter at the bottom ; the whole should be shaped like the leaf of an opening bud, tapering gradually from the bottom to the top'. Around this a circle is drawn with a cord of twice the height of the gnomon, by fixing one end of it to its base, and carrying the other round it. Points are marked in the circumference where the shadow of the gnomon projects, both in the forenoon and afternoon, that is, at any given hour after sunrise, and at the same time before sunset ; and between these points a right line is drawn so as to join them ; the point marked by the morning shadow will show the East, and that marked by the evening shadow the West. Then from each of these two points, and with a radius equal to the distance between them, describe two more circles cutting each other, and resembling (in their points of intersection) the head and tail of a fish, between which draw a right line, which will point to the South and North. Again, from the southern and northern points, which touch the circumference of the inner circle respectively, and with the same radius, describe two more circles, and the points of intersection on the two other sides will indicate the East and West.[15]

[34] Gateways : The principal entrance to the temple is placed to the east, right in front of the temple. It is covered by a spacious square building, the *toraṇa* or *gopura*, with a pyramidal roof, having the figures of the nine Indian planets (*navagraha*) sculptured in more or less relief on the frieze under the weather-moulding. The structure, however,

14. Yule's *Mission to Ava*, p. 97.

15. *Architecture of the Hiudus*, 19.

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has neither the lofty storied character of the Tamulian *gopura*,[16] which rises from five to fourteen stories, nor the majesty and massive solidity of the Egyptian *pylon*, or *propylon*, but holds a very subordinate place in the whole composition. For guards it has two lions, either seated, or rampant on crouching elephants, a form of grouping to which the Uriyās seem to have been very partial. At Koṇārak there are also horses and elephants for guards ; but they are not common, nor do they at all approach the gigantic size of the human-headed winged bulls and lions of the Assyrian palaces. At Puri there are gateways of about the same size on all the four sides of the enclosure of the great temple ; but originally such was not the case at Bhuvaneśvara, the two small doors on the north and the south of the Great Tower now visible, being manifestly subseqent additions : there is no opening in its western wall. The roof of the gateway externally is a counterpart of that of the porch on a small scale, but internally it is so arched as to look like the under surface of a hemispherical dome.

Material—Laterite : In a country so abounding in stones of various kinds as Orissa, it is not to be supposed that any other material would be employed in the construction of buildings designed for the habitation of the image of the ever-present God, and intended to last for eternity, and accordingly it appears that they were the only substance used, and not a trace of bricks is anywhere to be met with. Of stones, the most common is laterite, next sandstone, and, lastly *muṅgni*, or chlorite. For outerwalls, kitchens, porticos, and all structures of secondary importance the first is the best suited. It occurs almost everywhere in Orissa within a few feet under the soil, and in many places crops up to the surface. Around Bhuvaneśvara large tracts lie barren, or covered with stunted jungle, from the soil or mould having been washed away from its rocky substratum. In his note on this substance, Mr. W. T. Blanford says : "The form which generally appears at the surface (it being rarely that the lower kind is exposed by the denudation of the upper) consists mainly of round ferruginous nodules, about 1/8 to 1/4 of an inch india meter, in a matrix of dark reddish-brown clay, which is generally more or less sandy. The nodules have a coating of brown hydrated peroxide of iron, and, when broken, some are seen to be black inside ; others appear to be formed of concretionary peroxide of iron ; others, again, are evidently ferruginous pebbles of decomposed gneiss, or of sandstone, if the rock prevail in the neighbourhood. These little nodules are frequently scattered over the country by the denudation and distintegration of the deposit containing them. In places the substance is so soft that it may be cut, though with difficulty, with a spade ; in other places it hardens into a firm rock, sometimes cohering only in the form of large blocks, the intermediate portion remaining loose and gravelly, but frequently forming a hard mass, which covers the surface for considerable areas. It is only at the surface that the rock becomes thoroughly hardened ; the lower portion requires exposure to give it firmness and strength : when exposed it becomes cavernous, owing to the washing away of the softer portions, and apparently a chemical change takes place, whereby the iron becomes altered from the state of anhydrous peroxide (and perhaps

16. Vide *passim* Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, II, 567.

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also of magnetic oxide) into that of brown or hydrated peroxide. To this chemical change the coherence may perhaps partly be attributed ; much, however, is doubtless due to the more thorough drying of clay by the heat of the sun."[17] Dr. Oldham, commenting on the value of the laterite as a building material, observes : "Few rocks present greater advantages from its peculiar character ; it is easy to cut and shape when first dug, and it becomes hard and tough after exposure to the air ; while it seems to be very little acted on by the weather. Indeed in many of the sculptured stones of some of the oldest buildings, temples, &c., in the district, the chisel marks are as fresh and sharp as when first built. It is perhaps not so strong, nor so capable of resisting great pressure, or bearing great weights, as some of the sandstones, or the more compact kind of gneiss, but it certainly possesses amply sufficient strength for all ordinary purposes. It is largely used at the present time, but has also been employed from the earliest period from which the buildings and temples of the country, date. .... Another advantage it possesses over other rocks is the facility of transport, it being generally found in the low grounds, and often at no great distance from some of the many streams which traverse the vicinity. Slabs from four to five feet long are easily procurable of this rock."[18] Exposure to water does not seem to affect its texture in any way, and it is, therefore, also largely used for the building of *ghāts* and retaining walls on the sides of tanks. Being however, a nodular conglomerate, it is full of cavities and soft interstices, and utterly unfit, not only for sculptures and fine work, but even for paving and other purposes, where a smooth even surface is required. D. Oldham alludes to "elaborate specimens of carving and ornament"[19] made of this stone, but I have nowhere seen any. The simplest mouldings of bands and fillets are all that have come under my notice.

[35] **Sandstone** : Sandstone is also abundant everywhere. The low range of hills which runs along the whole length of the province, dividing it into two parts, consists principally of this stone, and it is quarried and worked with ease. It is commonly of a grey colour and coarse grain ; but a finer variety of an ocherous tint varying in shade from a light fawn to dark brick-red is met with at Atgharh in the Tributary Mehals, and in a few other places, and is largely used for outer facings of temples, and for sculptures. This variety is of small grain, homogeneous texture and great firmness, admitting of very delicate carving without breaking or chipping. As it had, however, to be brought from a great distance, the builders generally tried to economise its use, and to replace it by the grey kind whenever it was practicable without injury to the appearance of their work.

Chlorite : The *muṅgni* is a kind of serpentine, or chlorite. It is of a dark slaty colour, and fine composition, susceptible of a high degree of polish, and when polished, it assumes, like slate, a black colour. In the present day it is largely employed in the manufacture of plates, basins, and other domestic utensils. "The rock yields a beautiful compact and very tough material, though soft and easy to work. It is admirably suited

17. *Memoirs* of the Geological Survey of India, I, p. 281.
18. *Ibid*, 276.
19. *Loc. cit.*

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for fine carvings, as may be well seen in some of the beautifully sculptured doorways of the Black Pagoda, which are carved from this variety of rock. Blocks of almost any size can be obtained, the only impediment being the difficulty of transport from the high hills on which it occurs."[20] It is, however, not met with in Cuttack, and the distance from the Nilgiri Hills, in Balasore, where it is quarried, to Bhuvaneśvara and Puri, was so great that its use had to be confined to statuary and finer kinds of sculptures, which were not intended to be much exposed to sun and rain. For facing the suffits and jambs of the entrance to temples, for the paving of the cells, as also for thrones of the sacred images, it was also largely employed ; in short, it supplied the place of marble which was not accessible to the Uriyās, and was, and is to this day, held in high estimation.

Granite : In descriptions of Orissan antiquities, granite is frequently mentioned by European writers, but I have not seen it employed for building purposes either at Puri or at Bhuvaneśvara. According to Dr. Oldham, than whom few can speak with more authority on questions of Indian Geology, "throughout the country, south of the Mahānadī, dykes of all kinds are rare, trap is entirely wanting, and granitic veins are seldom seen."[21] It is probable therefore that, as in the infancy of geological science at the end of the last and the beginning of this century all hard grey-looking stones were mistaken for granite, non-professional men in Orissa, as elsewhere, frequently took the one for the other. Between thirty and forty years ago the Aśoka pillars were described by more than one writer as made of granite, but it is now well-known that they are all formed of sandstone. In the same way Bishop Heber called several structures in Agra and Delhi as constructed of granite, which have since turned out to be sandstone or marble. If true granite, however, is wanting, gneiss is common enough, if not abundant, and a granitiferous variety is frequently employed for statuary, particularly on the Ālti and the Nālti Hills : some of the statues of the Black Pagoda are also said to be made of this material ; but the bulk of them are of sandstone.

Style of Building : As in design, so in the art of building, Uriyā architects display a sad want of variety. If their temples are all of one plan, they are built in almost the same order everywhere. Possibly at an early stage of their progress, they did try other modes of arranging their materials, but by the middle of the seventh century, they seem to have discovered what appeared to them the cheapest, and at the same time the most convenient, style of masonry, and continued ever after to practise it without any variation. This was to arrange courses of oblong ashlars of the same height, which were held together by their weight, by their perfect adjustment, and by the frequent intervention of bonders long enough to extend to a considerable distance into, or entirely through, the wall. All the courses, however, were not of the same thickness, nor the stones always of the same size,[22] and the result was a kind of work which in reference to

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20. Oldham, in the *Memoirs* of the Geological Survey. I, p. 278.

21. *Ibid.*, I. p. 264.

22. Sanskrit works on architecture insist on the ashlars being of uniform size, and the *Agni Purāṇa* recommends squares of one cubit with a depth of 8 fingers as the most

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Grecian buildings is denominated the *pseudoisodamum*. This plan, however, was not followed in the construction of walls of extraordinary thickness. It would have occasioned a great waste of labour and material to have filled up piers seven to ten feet thick with carefully dressed blocks of the same size throughout, and a different style was therefore deemed necessary. This was to build irregular horizontal courses with partially worked stones of various sizes and to face them on both sides with isodomic walls of well-dressed flags. Occasionally unhewn masses were rudely piled together with no further adjustment than the insertion of small blocks in the interstices, in the true cyclopean style, but their sides were always faced with cut stones of a [36] superior quality. It should be added, however, that I have not had many opportunities of examining masonry work of great thickness in a dilapidated state, to be able to say with certainty whether the cyclopean, or the irregular horizontal style was the most prevalent. The latter was met with in about half a dozen places, and the former only twice : they were in every instance covered with a layer of finely dressed stones, except of course in the foundations where such facings would have been thrown away.

Mortar : Mortar seems never to have been used ; the massiveness of the blocks, and the accuracy with which they were cut and adjusted, rendered it unnecessary. Wooden wedges were also not used, or, if used, they are not now traceable. In the joining, however, of long projecting cornices and roof-stones, iron clamps were frequently employed. At Koṇārak I also noticed lead in the fissures and holes in the remains of cornices ; but neither copper nor brass.[23] The iron has everywhere rusted and swollen, and produced serious cracks in the stones in which they are embedded, causing thereby more injury to the temples, than time and climate have done in course of centuries. The Uriyā builders of old appear to have been, to some extent at least, aware of this source of danger, for iron clamps occur less frequently in the ancient temples of Bhuvaneśvara than in the more modern structures of Puri and Koṇārak.

From the absence of mortar it might be argued that the ancient Uriyās had either no knowledge of it, or had no material at hand to be so employed. Such was, however, not the case. *Ghutiṅg* (nodular limestone conglomerate) abounds in almost every part of Orissa, and its ancient builders knew well the value of that article as a cement, and used it extensively for closing the joints on roofs, domes, &c., as also for plastering the interior of their houses and temples ; and abundant evidence of its employment may be everywhere seen. It entered largely also in the composition of their vases, and occasionally, but rarely, in the formation of architectural ornaments.

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appropriate, bricks being of half that size ; but the rule seems never to have been respected :

Silāḥ prāsādaliṅgasya pādadharmādisaṃjñakāḥ /
aṣṭāṅgulocchritāḥ śastāścaturaścākarāyatāḥ // p. 291.

23. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the bridge which Semiramis built over the Euphrates, states that the stones were held together by iron clamps, the interstices of which were filled up with molten lead. In ancient Egypt the same practice was common.

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Iron Beams : Owing to imperfect cohesion of its grains, sandstone is ill-adapted for architraves of large span ; hence it is rarely employed for such purposes. Chlorite resists lateral pressure somewhat better, but it was scarce, and its great weight rendered it generally unmanageable. Uriyā architects, therefore, resorted to iron beams, which they could forge with ease, and move about with tolerable facility. The iron was probably obtained from Tālcīr, where it is smelted to this day, and was of excellent quality, well adapted for their purpose. At Bhuvaneśvara such beams may be seen in great abundance. The hypertherions of the principal doorways are formed of bars four inches square, and ten to twelve feet in length ; the scantling of architraves being 4X6 to 5X7 inches, with a length of 12 to 15 feet. Roofs, as already stated, were formed by horizontal arches, but the projections from the opposite sides rarely closed in more than two-thirds of the space, the remainder being covered by flags of stone supported on iron beams. At Puri the beams are of larger dimensions ; and at Koṇārak there is one, 21 feet long with an average thickness of 8X10 inches. Its material seems to be of a superior quality, and the forging throughout perfect. But the most remarkable feature in the piece of iron is its arched upper surface, the ends being 8 inches, and the centre 11 inches, an arrangement of parts by which the highest mechanical strength was secured without any unnecessary waste of material. This displays an amount of knowledge of the laws of force and resistance on the part of the engineers which is highly creditable to them.

Wood : In a country so infested by white-ants as Orissa, it is not surprising that wood has been so little used in the construction of the temples, though some of the finest woods of India, such as the teak and the *sāl*, are so abundant everywhere. The only purpose for which wood was employed was, for the making of doors, but, as most of the original doors have long since disappeared, and their places have been from time to time supplied by modern substitutes, it is impossible now to say how they were worked. The only ancient door now to be met with in Orissa occurs in the porch of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, and that is made of sandal wood, divided into square panels, and carved in a diaper pattern somewhat like the patterns on the celebrated gates of Somanātha, now deposited in the fort at Agra. Mr. William Simpson, in a letter to the Editor of the *Daily News*, London newspaper, dated the 23rd December, 1871, doubts the gates to be those that were removed from the temple of Somanātha by Mahmud Ghaznavi. He says, "I made a very careful sketch of them, including details of the ornament. As I sketched, it struck me as strange that the art contained nothing Hindu in its design. It was all purely Muhummadan. Out of the thirty two millions of Hindu gods, there was not one of them visible". He adds, "It was only on my return to England, and in conversation with Mr. Fergusson that I got confirmation of what I suspected. He agreed with me that the ornament was sufficient evidence that they could not possibly be the gates of Somanātha ; but he added that the gates in the Divān i khās at Agra had been inspected with a microscope, and they are of *deodār* pine, and not of sandal wood. This fact, in spite of the proclamation" (of Lord [37] Ellenborough) "would command a verdict against them from

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a ny jury". This, however, it is to be supposed, would be to a great extent dependent on the nature of the jury, for were experts to be included in the panel they would not be able to join in the verdict so confidently expected upon the evidence adduced. The wood of the gate now at Agra has the colour, density (apparent), and grain of sandal wood ; but admitting, for the sake of argument, that it is really not so, there is nothing to show that *deodār* pine, the wood especially sacred to the gods (from *deva* : god and *dāru* : wood), was inaccessible at Somanātha, and that the report regarding the original gates having been of sandal wood, founded on the evidence of Muhammadan writers, was not a mistaken one, resulting in the appearance of the wood. The character of the pattern (diaper) is simple enough, and the like of it may be seen in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, engraved on the hafts of war-hatchets brought from the South Sea islands. It occurs likewise, slightly modified, on the panels of the Bhuvaneśvara temples, and it would require no ordinary amount of recklessness to say that the builders of Orissa in the seventh century and the South Sea islanders got it from the Muhammadans. The prospect of finding some one or more of the thirty-three million gods of the Hindu pantheon carved on door-panels was so fanciful, that few natives of this country will feel at all surprised at its having so completely disappointed the writer. I must have visited at least five thousand temples in various parts of India, but I do not remember to have noticed many door-panels with figures of gods carved on them, certainly none in Orissa. It must be added, however, that there is nothing but its decayed ancient look to show that the Bhuvaneśvara doors are synchronous with the date of the Tower.

Season for Building : Some of the Purāṇas, as also the *Mānasāra*, give detailed descriptions of various kinds of wood adapted for use in making dwellings, the seasons when the trees which yield them should be felled, their respective values for different purposes, the ceremonies to be observed when proceeding to fell trees for obtaining supplies of timber, the mode of seasoning them, &c. ; but as wood occurs but very sparingly in the buildings which form the subjects of this work, it is not necessary to notice them at length. The former, likewise, afford directions regarding the seasons and stellar conjunctions most favourable for commencing the building of temples and houses, and the ceremonies to be observed on such occasions. Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa* : "The man who commences a building in the month of Caitra, earns ill-health ; he who does so in Vaiśākha gains wealth and jewels, but in Jaiṣṭha, he encounters death. Should he begin it in the month of Āṣāḍha, he will obtain slaves, jewels, cattle, and a good complexion. In Śrāvaṇa he will secure friends, and in Bhādra lose them. A house begun in Āśvina brings in the death of one's wife, in Kārtika, the gain of wealth and corn, in Mārgaśīrṣa, abundance of food, and in Pauṣa, the fear of thieves. It is ordained that the month of Māgha ensures gain and learning, but it also brings on fire ; while Phālguna gives offspring, and gold. Such are the effects of seasons".[24] Of lunar constellations the following are described as the most appropriate, viz., Aśvinī, Rohiṇī, Mūlā, Uttarā

24. *Matsya Purāṇa.*

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Āṣāḍhā, Uttara Bhādrapada, Uttara Phalgunī, Mṛga-śirā, Svātī, Hastā, and Anurādhā.[25] Of the days of the week, Sundays and Tuesdays are injurious, the rest are appropriate.[26] Much weight is also laid on particular conjunctions, but as these cannot be made intelligible to European readers without entering into tedious details, I shall not quote them here. The *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra*, a Tantra of the Vaiṣṇavite class, has also some rules on the subject ; but they are scarcely worth noticing. According to it the rainy season is the most inappropriate, and no building should be commenced in it. The first ten days of the wane, the second five days of the waxing moon, the 4th, the 9th, and the 14th of both the wane and the waxing moon, are also said to be reprehensible.[27] It differs from the last authority, however, in rejecting only the Sunday, and not also Tuesday, and approving of some of the Nakṣatras which the former condemns.

Ground fit for building : The *Matsya Purāṇa* affords detailed instructions for the selection and examination of the ground for building. Earth is divided by it into four classes according to its colour ; the white is called Brāhmaṇa, it is said to have a sweet taste ; the red is Kṣatriya, and it produces an astringent taste in the mouth ; the yellow is Vaiśya, it is hot and astringent to the taste ; and the black is Śūdra ; it is also astringent and hot. The merits of these different kinds of earth as substrata for buildings, or as materials for brick-making, are reckoned according to their caste, the Brāhmaṇa being esteemed the best, and the Śūdra the worst.

[38] Before commencing a building, the proper course is to dig a hole, measuring in every direetion an *aratni*, or a cubit from the elbow to the end of the little finger. This being afterwards carefully plastered with mud, a saucer is to be filled with *ghi*, provided with four wicks on four sides, and placed on the bottom of the hole. The wicks being now lighted, if they burn uniformly and brightly, the ground is fit for building ; otherwise it is bad. Another and more practical and intelligible method is to press into the hole the earth excavated from it ; if the earth should fill up the hole and leave a surplus, the ground is good ; if it should barely fill it up, but leave no surplus, the ground is indifferent ; but if it should prove insufficient, the ground is positively bad.[28] The prevalence or absence of particular kinds of trees, and the readiness or otherwise with

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25. *Ib.* 26. *Ib.*

27. Vāstukarma na cārabhyaṃ varṣākāle vijānatā /
Kṛṣṇapakṣe tribhāgānte śuklapādau dvitīyake //
Caturthī navamī varjjyā tithiścāpi caturdaśī /

28. pūrvaṃ bhūmiṃ parīkṣeta paścāt vāstuṃ prakalpayet /
śvetā raktā tathā pītā kṛṣṇā caivānupūrvaśaḥ //
viprādeḥ śasyate bhūmirataḥ kāıyaṃ parīkṣaṇaṃ /
viprāṇāṃ madhurāsvādā kaṣāyā kṣatriyasya ca //
kaṣāye kaṭutā tadvadvaiśyaśūdreṣu śasyate /
aratnimātre vai garte svanulipte ca sarvataḥ //
ghṛtamāmaśarāvasthaṃ kṛtvā varticatuṣṭayaṃ /
jvālayedbhūparīkṣārthaṃ pūrṇaṃ tat sarvadiṅmukham //

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which seeds sprout when sown in the ground, are also held as tests of its fitness for building upon.

Removal of bones : After selecting the land great attention should be paid to remove whatever bones it may contain ; for bones, particularly those of Caṇḍālas, are reckoned to be highly injurious to buildings. If no bones are found, and still there should be any suspicion of the presence of any such offensive matter, a ceremony has to be performed named *Śailoddhāra*, which is esteemed as highly effectual in neutralising the evil effects of bones under a building. Certain ceremonies have also to be perfomed before and after the completion of a building, of which an interesting account, by Bābu Pratāpacandra Ghoṣa, will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1870, p. 199, *et seq.* A summary of it here is scarcely needed.[29]

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dīpta pūrvādi gṛhṇīyādvarṇānāmanupūrvaśaḥ /
vāstuḥ samūhiko nāma dīpyate sarvatastu yaḥ //
śubhadaḥ sarvavarṇānāṃ prāsādeṣu gṛheṣu ca /
aratnimātrakaṃ gartaṃ parīkṣya khātapūraṇe //
adhike śriyamāpnoti nyūne hāniṃ same samam /
iti matsye /

29. With reference to the remark made on page [33] to the effect that minor Hindu temples face one or other of all the four cardinal points of the compass, it is necessary to note here, with a view to prevent misapprehension, that the *Caṇḍimaṇḍapas* or chapels in private dwellings in Bengal, face either the South, or the West, never East, nor the North, and the priest, when engaged in worship, invariably sits with his face towards the East, facing the image of the god, when the chapel is turned towards the West, and having the image on his left side when its direction is towards the South. This is, however, not in accordance with the rules of Śāstra. According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* "the side sacred to Kuvera (North) is the most gratifying to Śiva ; therefore, seated with the face directed to that side, should Caṇḍikā be always worshipped". *Digvibhāge tu kauverī dik śivaprītidāyinī, tathā tanmukha āsīna pūjayeccaṇḍikāṃ sadā.* At Puri and Bhuvaneśvara, with temples facing the East, the priests, I observed, were seated with their faces towards the South. This too is not consistent with the ordinances of the Śāstra, for the *Rudra-yāmala Tantra* prohibits the East for Śambhu, and the West and the North for Śakti. *Na prācīmagrataḥ śambhornodīcīm śaktimāsthitāṃ, na pratīcīm yataḥ pṛiṣṭhamatoda-kṣam samāśrayet.* How the priest sits when a temple faces the North, I have never noticed. When people sit to repeat their *sandhyā* prayers, they turn towards the East, if the worshippers be Vaiṣṇavas, and towards the North if they be Śāktas. The followers of Śiva and Gaṇeśa prefer the North. This likewise is arbitrary, and unsupported by the Śāstra. The general rule, according to Viṣṇu, is that the worshipper may sit with his face towards the North or the East at his option. *Prañmukho udañmukho vā upaviṣṭo dhyānī devatāḥ pūjayet.* Vācaspati Miśra quotes an authority which improves upon this, and recommends the East for morning prayer, the West for evening prayer, and the North for prayer at night : *Prākpaścimoda-gāsyāt tu sāyam-prātar-niśāsu ca.*

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Chapter III

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS AND SCULPTURE :—Trammels of orders and styles. Unity of Indian art. Situation, the first element of beauty in architecture,—how regarded by ancient Indians;---neglected in the present day. Tanks, Magnitude, the second element of beauty; how adventitiously increased. Solidity and massiveness. Basement. Crests for mouldings. Battlements. Mouldings for plinths. Walls and pilasters. Pillars. Cornices. Various kinds of Mouldings. Bands and fascias. Weather-moulding. Coats of Arms. Eccentric ornaments. Brackets. Bosses, Finials. Lotus. Quality of floral designs. Do—of figures of animals. Do—of the human form. Schools of Daedalus, of Aeginitus, of Egypt, of Assyria and of Orissa. Merits and defects of Orissan human figures. Features. Relative proportions of the different members of the human figure. Relief. Groups. Drapery. Obscenity of Orissan sculptures; its cause. Sculptures carved *in situ*. Torentic art.

"In architecture, as in all other operative arts, the end is to build well", says Sir Henry Wotton ; but this is a maxim which cannot be adopted in the present day without a multiplicity of qualifications. It implies a freedom from restrictions of orders and styles which even Gothic architects with their "disregard of precedent and untrammelled wildness of imaginations",[1] could not command. To the Uriyās it was a license not to be thought of. The ordinances of the *Śilpa Śāstra*, which claimed a sanctity next to the Veda itself, hemmed them on every side, and left little room for the play of the imagination in the design of their temples.[2] The ground plans, the forms, the proportions, had all to be regulated by rigid rules and inviolable canons, and they had scrupulously to abide by them while yearning to produce something that would be at once grand, imposing, and lasting for ages. Ornamentation was the only branch of the art which was left entirely to their fancy, and they gave free vent to their constructive faculty and taste to the development of an endless variety of decorative

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1. Fergusson, *History of Architecture.*

2. The ancient Egyptians, who resembled the early Hindus so closely in their manners, customs and habits of life, were equally restricted in their architecture. "Plato and Synesius both mention the stern regulations which forbade their artists to introduce innovations in religious subjects ; and the more effectually to prevent this, the profession of artist was not allowed to be exercised by common or illiterate persons, lest they should attempt anything contrary to the laws established regarding the figures of the deities". Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, III. 87.

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designs. Hence it is that in the midst of one unbroken monotony of form in India, the observer is charmed by a profusion and richness of ornaments which has nowhere been surpassed. Indeed, ornamentation has always been, so to say, a passion with the Hindu. To quote the language of Mr. Fergusson: "Like all people untrammelled by rules and gifted with a feeling for the beautiful, they adorn whatever they require, and convert every object, however utilitarian in its purposes, into an object of beauty, knowing well that it is not temples and palaces alone that are capable of such display, but that every thing which man makes, may become beautiful, provided the hand of taste be guided by sound judgment that never forgets what the object is, and never conceals the constructive exigencies of the building itself. It is simply this inherent taste and love of beauty, which the Indians seem always to have possessed, directed by unaffected honesty of purpose, which enables those who are now without independence or knowledge, or power, to erect, even at the present day, buildings that will bear comparison with the best of those erected in Europe during the middle ages".[3] It is to be remarked, however, that even in this passion for ornament, and the diversity and profusion to which it has led, there is a marked unity of design. Whether in the North, or the South, in the peninsula of Guzerat, in the West, or the sea-shore at Orissa in the East, the same general principles of decoration prevail everywhere. It is not to be expected that in their quality and execution they should always be alike, but their general character is the same in all places. The corbels, the medallions, the panels, the mouldings, and the scrolls in the temples of northern India and Orissa, are all closely similar to those in the Tamulian structures of the South. The same forms, the same figures, the same proportions, however variously combined and elaborated, turn up wherever the observer directs his eyes, and they display a community of thought and inspiration on the part of the builders which could not have resulted unless the Tamulians and the Aryans had drawn from one common source. Hence it is that the *Śilpa Śāstras* as current in the North and South are alike, and the canons of the *Mānasāra* are reproduced unchanged in the works of Tamulian authors.

Situation : The first element of beauty in a building is due to its situation. It would be a truism to say that a plain structure situated in a romantic spot appears far more picturesque than a really beautiful edifice buried in the midst of a towering mass of masonry surrounding it on every side. None who has seen the **[40]** elaborately sculptured, goldcovered fane of Viśveśvara at Benares, overshadowed on every side by lofty dwellings, and the simple unadorned temple on the Jangirah rock near Bhāgalpur, rising like a beacon tower in the midst of a wide expanse of water can for a moment deny the influence of place, in the development of beauty in buildings. The ancient Hindus paid particular attention to this subject, and generally selected the most prominent spots accessible, ordinarily beyond the boundary of a town, or village, for the erection of their temples, and there is scarcely a romantic spot in India, in forests or on hill-tops, on island or rivers, which has not been consecrated to some presiding divinity or other.

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3. *Handbook of Architecture*, I. p. 123.

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Where a commanding situation was not available, or from other causes, an urban site was deemed necessary, they cleared out the place selected so as to have sufficient space round the proposed temple, and to keep it perfectly unencumbered and detached. The same rule was also laid down, though probably not always observed, in regard to private dwellings. With a clear eye to effect it was also ordained that temples and houses should not be placed on any one corner or side of the area selected, or on its exact centre, but so located as to leave more space in front than behind. The space on the sides should be equal. According to the *Vṛhad-rāja-mārtaṇḍa*, the building should not cover more than one-ninth of the total space ;[4] but other authorities are less imperative. The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* condemns the sinner who ventures to build in close proximity to an existing temple. In Orissa these rules were formerly strictly observed, and the temples were so built as to leave lots of open space all round, more in front than on the sides. The desire, however, of dedicating temples on spots hallowed by the sanctity of ages, and the cupidity of the officiating priests, have, in later days, completely set those rules at naught, and the court-yards of temples are now so crowded with numberless structures of various kinds and qualities, that it is often difficult to get a clear and complete view of the principal edifices from any one side, and their aesthetic effect is completely destroyed. At Bhuvaneśvara some of the finest carvings and sculptures are completely covered by dead walls and thatched huts.

Tank : The *Rājamārtaṇḍa* recommends a tank to the East or the North of the building, but I do not remember to have noticed any such within the temple enclosure in Orissa. Without, they are not only common, but seem to have been originally held as an absolute necessity. Every large temple has its appropriate tank, on whose water is largely reflected the sanctity of the presiding divinity. They are evidently due, as much to the necessity of excavating materials for the temples, as to a desire to secure an ornamental, and at the same time a most useful, appurtenance to the sanctuary. Adverting to the attention paid to tanks by the people of this country, Mr. Fergusson observes : "Indeed, there is scarcely a tank or stream in all India that is without its flight of steps, and it is seldom indeed that these are left without some adornment, or some

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4. Navakhaṇḍaṃ sūtraṃ dhṛtvā vāstuṃ kṛtvā vicakṣaṇaḥ /
navame pravibhāge tu gṛhaṃ kuryāt prayatnataḥ //
na koṇe ca gṛhaṃ kuryāt nāpyante na ca madhyame /
puṇye'hani sthire lagne sūcayedbhavanaṃ budhaḥ //
sūtre'pyutthāya sandehān nimittaṃ niyataṃ śṛṇu /
sūtre vistāryamāṇe hi pramādādbhidyate yadi //
acireṇaiva kālena tadgṛhī mriyate dhruvam //

Vṛhadrājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja Deva. As. Socy's. MS, No. 74, fol. 50. "The intelligent, holding a string divided into nine parts, and laying the foundation carefully, should build his house on one of the nine parts. But it should not be in a corner, nor on one side nor in the middle. On an auspicious day, during a good conjunction of the stars, the wise lays the foundation of a house".

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attempt at architectural display, the proximity of water being always grateful in so hot a climate, and an especial place of favourite resort with a people so fond of washing and so cleanly in their habits as the Hindus."[5]

Height : But to turn from the adventitious to the innate : "the first and most obvious element of architectural grandeur," says Fergusson, "is size,—a large edifice being always more imposing than a small one ; and when the art displayed in two buildings is equal, their effect is almost in the direct ratio of their dimensions."[6] This size or magnitude affects human feelings according to the direction from which it is seen. "Magnitude in height is expressive to us of elevation, and magnanimity ; in depth of danger or terror, and, from our constant experience, of images of terror ; in length, of vastness ; and in breadth, of stability, and when apparently unbounded, of infinity."[7] Orissan architects, were fully aware of the importance of these principles, and tried to utilise them in the erection of their sacred edifices ; but, owing to the peculiarity of the style they adopted, they never acquired the same success, which their neighbours, the Tamulians, achieved. A single square chamber for obvious engineering reasons, can never be of any extraordinary magnitude, either in height, or in its length and breadth ; the utmost limit is soon attained, and as the height must be proportioned to the base, the edifice must, to a certain extent, be wanting in such majesty and grandeur as are attainable by large dimensions. To remedy this evil, secondary buildings were attached to the principal temple, so as to cover a large area, and overcome the eye by a great expanse ; but as they were never blended into one, they failed to fulfil their object. They look detached and separate, and, instead of heightening the effect of the principal structure, mar it by their incongruity.

[41] Vertical style : Another and a more effectual remedy was "to increase the apparent dimensions of a building by a scientific disposition of the parts, and a skilful arrangement of ornament, thereby making it look very much larger than it really was."[8] As the temples had to depend upon their height for their grandeur and effect, the builders not only carefully avoided cornices and continuous commanding horizontal mouldings, but so arranged the projections as not only to remove the baldness of dead walls by an agreeable play of light and shade, but to enhance the apparent height by a series of vertical, or upright, lines and forms. The plinths were broken by deep and strongly marked projections ; the piers and pilasters were made narr ow and tall ; the architraves were so designed as nowhere to offer a continued, or unbroken, line ; the facades were attenuated by repeated canting of the corners of projections, and other devices ; the niches were narrowed and elongated ; the mouldings were made to tend upwards ; and the sculptured ornaments were to such an extent forced to the vertical position that even figures of lions and elephants had to stand in an unnatural erect posture like men. In short, the composition is throughout vertical, or, so to say, of the perpendicular mediaeval Gothic ordinance, as

5. *Handbook of Architecture*, I. p. 126.
6. *History of Architecture*, I. p. 11.
7. Alison's *Essays on Taste*, p. 171.
8. Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, I. 11.

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opposed to the horizontal composition of the Greeks and the Romans. The artistic effect of this arrangement is most advantageous ; the eye of the observer is always directed upwards, and temples of even moderate size look lofty, towering, and highly imposing.

Solidity : This impression is further greatly heightened by the solidity and extreme massiveness of the temples. According to the verse quoted above from the *Agni Purāṇa*, (*ante*, p. [27]), the walls of buildings should occupy four-tenths of the area, leaving six-tenths for the space of the room. This rule assimilates to a great extent with the practice of the architects of Egypt, Greece and Rome ; but in the principal temples of Orissa it is greatly exceeded. Indeed, the excessive solidity of Orissan piles implies, either a sad want of constructive ingenuity, or an unnecessary and most lavish waste of materials. But the end directed the operation of their builders, and that end was, next to what Professor Lübke describes architecture to be, "the aesthetic manifestation of the law of gravity"; the greatest stability for that peculiar form of building which Uriyā art could attain—a stability which should not only rise above the atmospheric influence of the Indian climate, and defy its tremendous elemental commotions, but rival even the eternity of the divinity whose fanes the structures were intended to serve, and firmly to impress that idea on the imagination of the beholder. With such an end in view it is not remarkable that constructive elegance and economy of materials, should have been looked upon as questions of secondary importance. That it was not the result of want of ingenuity is evident from the comparative lightness of the Dancing halls, Gateways and other structures of the time. The following table shows the relative proportions of the chambers and the walls of some of the principal temples of Orissa. The measurements are rough, and must be taken as only approximate :—

Name	Outer measure-ment	Inner measure-ment	Total area	Area of room	Ratio of solids to the total area ; in decimals	Ratio of room to the total area ; in decimals	Nearest vulgar fraction
Bhagavatī	38X38	13X13	1,444	169	·882	·117	1/10
Great Tower	66X60	42X42	3,960	1,764	·554	·445	1/2
Rāmeśvara	34X34	16X16	1,156	256	·778	·221	1/5
Paraśurāmeśvara	20X20	11X 9	400	99	·752	·247	1/4
Yameśvara	22X22	12X12	484	144	·702	·297	1/3
Kapileśvara	20X16	9 X 9	320	81	·746	·253	1/4
Rājarāṇī	32X25	12X12	800	144	·820	·180	1/5
Mukteśvara	14X14	6 X 6	196	36	·816	·183	1/5
Puri	73X73	29X29	5,329	841	·842	·158	1/6
Śarideül	24X22	12X12	528	144	·727	·272	1/4
Someśvara	23X23	11X11	529	121	·772	·228	1/4
Ananta-vāsudeva	26X26	16X14	696	224	·678	·322	1/3

Basement : In Rām Rāz's work on the architecture of the Hindus, forty different designs are given, from the simplest to the most elaborate and ornate, for pedestals and

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bases of pillars. In Orissa most of these have been employed, either intact, or variously combined, in the ornamentation of the stereobate.

[42] They all begin with a thick rectangular projecting base-moulding called *upāna*, corresponding exactly with the plinth of the European orders. Over it occurs either a thin receding tile of the same description, or a quirked cyma-recta in a reversed position, covered by a thin tile. The plinth and the tiles are invariably left plain, without any carving on their face, but the upper edges of the tiles are frequently broken by small projections, shaped like lancet-heads, and placed at long intervals. (See woodcut No. 20) At Benares these are called *rāmarekhās*, and are most extensively employed in the ornamentation of all flat, horizontal mouldings. In Orissa, they are used in conjunction with both flat and rounded members, and project either upwards, or downwards, or both upwards and downwards at the same time, serving the purpose of crests in the former, and of cusps in the latter, position. In upper mouldings they are richly carved. In plain work they spring from the moulding and form an unbroken part of it, as shown on the upper side of the woodcut ; but when decorated with carving, they are entirely independent. Some plain ones are also so represented as to appear separate from the band on which they are placed. (See the lower part of the woodcut.) On the ledges of sloping roofs and cornices they serve the purpose of finials. Everywhere they constitute the most marked and characteristic feature of the ordinance, and there is not a single ancient temple in Orissa where they are wanting. When ornamented, they have generally a scroll or beaded border, with men, animals, or flowers, in the middle. Sometimes they are so shaped as to look like what in Gothic architecture are called crockets. Ordinarily in general appearance they are very like miniature Saracenic battlements, and if enlarged and brought into close proximity, they would no doubt serve the purpose of those ornaments. This arrangement is actually seen on the outer wall of the Puri enclosure, and there the lancet-heads are sufficiently enlarged to form regular battlements. The walls, however, cannot be taken to be of the same date as the temple, as the priests have a tradition that the Marhattas rebuilt that part of the wall which has large battlements, and the other portion may, likewise, be the result of a previous attempt at improvement. Among the ruins at Koṇārak I noticed several large batttlements, each formed of a single stone, measuring 2′ 2″ by 1′ 8″ and having a flat band round the edges in front ; but they were not *in situ*, and I could not satisfy myself as to the position they had formerly occupied, It is well known that the Marhattas transferred larger quantities of building materials from Koṇārak, in the middle of the last century, for the erection of the refectory or Bhogamaṇḍapa at Puri, and it is possible that the battlements were carried at that time for use at Puri. They are exactly of the same pattern as those on the eastern wall of the Puri enclosure. The doubt regarding the origin of the Puri battlements is, however, immaterial to the question at issue, viz. as to whether the Hindus ever built battlements on the top of their walls and cornices, for the triangular and pyramidal battlements to be met with at Udayagiri and Sāñcī (*vide ante* p. [17], woodcuts, Nos. 1 and 2) leave no room for doubt on the subject ; and the transition of the straight lines of triangular battlements of Udayagiri into the

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curvilinear ones of Puri is so easy, that a Saracenic theory is not at all needed to account for it.

The moulding, which, for want of a better name, has been called a " quirked cyma-recta ", is formed of the sections of two circles like the letter S slanting towards the wall thus, ᔕ and has its surface carved into a series of lotus petals, whence its distinctive name the " lotus moulding ", *padmabandha*. Sometimes its surface is cut into the form of a check, or beaded, pattern.

Over this, the wall rises straight upwards, from two to four or five depths of the plinth, and forms the dado, the *kaṇṭhā* of the Sanskrit writers In some highly decorated temples the surface of this member is divided into panels, and filled with carvings; but generally it is left bare. At Benares it is reduced to a narrow neck (*galā*) from a half to one-fourth of the thickness of the plinth. But whether reduced or not, it is followed by, first, a projecting flat band and then a cyma in exact correspondence with the lower moulding of the dado. The builders of Benares omit the tiles or bands above and below the dado, and, counting the dado the two cymas, with them become almost straight sloping surfaces, and the bands above and below them, make a *pañcthurā* or a course of five mouldings; and this is repeated two or three times with a few intervening bands to complete the stereobate. This produces a very jagged appearance, with interminable narrow lines, highly offensive to all sense of elegance and beauty. The Orissans did not approve of it, and when they repeated the fivefold course, they brought back the projecting plinth, and carved its face in various designs, or paring off its edges, converted it into a torus, either plain, or ornamented. The plan, however, which pleased them most, was to convert the stereobate into a number of stylobates, corresponding with the projections of the wall, and to carve them into solid, rounded, lobed figures like dumpy pitchers, which are called *kumbhas*. The base of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara is carved in this way, each stylobate having a double set of *kumbhas*. Over these the fivefold moulding is produced in two or three courses until the necessary height of the basement is completed.

Rām Rāz notices for pedestals, an ornament named *Kapota*, or the " parrot head ", but it has not been met with in Orissa, its place being generally occupied by the lancet-headed crests noticed above.

[43] Walls and pilasters : The surfaces of the piers are, as already stated, broken into a number of pilasters, or engaged pillars having intermediate panels, or niches, filled with bas-reliefs or statues. The pilasters are of various sizes and proportions,—generally most elaborately carved and decorated, and the panels and niches have the most sumptuous bands and mouldings carved around them. In small temples these pilasters are generally, but not invariably, carried up in whole height of the body ; but in large structures they are arranged as to give to the wall the appearance of two or three stories, each having its separate rows of pilasters, niches, panels, and blind doors. The artistic effect of this arrangement is remarkable. It helps greatly to diversify the appearance of the walls, and prevent all unnatural elongation of niches, panels and pilasters, and the aesthetic defect of placing niches over niches within one intercolumnistion, or having too much bare space

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over them. These members are merely architectural or ornamental; they do not, to any material extent, enter into the constructive economy of the temples, nor contribute much to their stability ; it is not remarkable therefore that their size, make, and strength bear no relation to the size of the building to which they are attached. The builders were no doubt guided by some principles or rules in the distribution of these ornaments, but in the midst of unlimited profusion and variety, it is now difficult, if not impossible, to make them out. The pillars and pilasters range from the most heavy and bulky to the most slender and delicate possible ; the intercolumnar spaces vary from one to many diameters of the pillars, and the niches are of various sizes and patterns, though always, rectangular. To describe them all in detail would be tedious and ineffectual. I must refer the reader, therefore, to the accompanying plates for an idea of the different styles in which pilasters and pillars are decorated, and the manner in which the walls are generally diversified. Illustration, No. 2, gives an elevation of the west face of the Kapileśvarī Temple, and Illustration, No. 3, of the southern facade of the Jagamohan of Mukteśvara, two of the most beautiful of the minor temples of Bhuvaneśvara. Illustration, No. 4 A, represents an attached pillar, or antis, on the exterior of the Mukteśvara Jagamohan. It has a round lobed pitcher-shaped base, and capital, with a slender shaft, divided into three segments, of which the lower two are four-sided, bearing on the front of the lowermost section a danseuse and on the next, two lions mounted on elephants: the third is rounded, and has a female figure in front, whose nether half is formed of a serpent which coils round the shaft above the head of the figure. The head is protected by the spread hood of a five-headed cobra. A modification of this style of pilaster occurs in Illustration, No. 7A. from the temple of Bhagavatī. In it the most prominent figure is a lion standing erect over a mounted elephant, and the capital has two nude females for ornament. The semi-ophide figure on the first pillar is called Nāgakanyā, or *ophidian nymph*. Sometimes two such figures are twined round each other on each shaft, and representation of the kind are very common in different parts of India. They are no doubt the congeners of the semi-piscine Triton of Greece, or the mermaids of Europe, Assyria and Persia, and intended to represent emblematically the descendants of the Nāga race; but it is remarkable that their counterparts are not unknown in other parts of the world. In a Chinese book entitled *The Great Cloud Wheel Rain asking Sutra*, and noticed by Mr. Fergusson, there are four representations of a serpent god,[9] each of which has " a human head and body, ending in a serpentine form from the waist downwards, but with the much more characteristic accompaninent of a degenerate serpent hood. In the first figure in this Chinese work, the Nāga has three serpents rising behind its head; in the second, five ; in the third, seven; and in the last, nine serpents. The lower extremities of the first and second are spotted like serpents, and the fourth " (the one copied in Mr. Fergusson's work)—" has scales more like those of a fish ".[10] Commenting upon these Mr. Fergusson observes: " In India between the third century B.C. and the thirteenth A·D. we find serpent hoods ranging

9. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 52.
10, *Ibid*, p. 53.

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from three to seven heads, but never the human body terminating in a serpent downward, till after the last quoted date ".[11] This conclusion, however, appears open to objection, as there are some pillars in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, which dates from the middle of the 7th century, on which the characteristic semi-ophide female figures are most elaborately sculptured. It is impossible to make out from flat drawings whether the serpents shown in the Chinese drawings are intended to represent separate animals, or numerous heads for the tail from which the human figure comes out. In India polycephalous cobras are always intended, as not so many separate animals as there are heads. The taste displayed in this monstrous representation cannot but be severely condemned, but the tact and talent with which it is executed in Orissa are worthy of praise. It may be added also that bad as the conception is, it is not worse than that of the Pans, and the Tritons, and the Centaurs of the Greek artists, or that of the Apollo and Daphne of Bernini of the 17th century, in which floating tresses and the ends of the fingers and toes of a lovely maiden are " all sprouting forth in elaborately executed laurel branches and leaves ".[12]

Of pilasters, Illustrations, Nos. 4B, 5, 6 and 7B, offer very rich typical examples. The first is from the exterior of the Jagmohan of the Great Tower. It is of a square make with a flat band-like projection in front along the middle. [**44**] Its surfaces are decorated with scroll work enclosing small figures of animals. The second is attached to the northern side of the Tower itself. It has a female figure on a panel on the front of the capital, resting on one knee, and supporting the abacus on her uplifted hands. It is the most florid specimen of the flat pilaster that has been met with at Bhuvaneśvara. No. 6, is a variety of the last. It has been taken from the north-east corner of the Muktesvare Jagmohan. In it the female supporter of the abacus is replaced by a stout muscular dwarf who groans under the weight resting on his head and hands. Its base has the typical pitcher and the shaft, flat projections, making it thereby many sided. No. 7 B. is in many respects similar to No. 4 B. It occurs on the temple of Bhagavatī in the Bhuvaneśvara enclosure.

Pillars : Looking at the beauty and elegance of these pillars and pilasters, it is difficult to account for the almost total absence among the Uriyās of a columnar ordinance, which seems never to have struck them. Once only they attempted it, when erecting the refectory of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara; but they failed. The pillars they raised, proved too light and weak for the superstructure, and they had to fill up the intercolumnar spaces with solid masonry to secure additional strength. At Puri the Muktimaṇḍapa is an open pillared *chaultry*, but it is probably of a much later date than the temple near which it is placed; and, as it is, a most unsuccessful attempt at building a *chaultry*. Its pillars, though monoliths of black chlorite, are of an inordinately heavy appearance, having the most clumsy and ungainly bases and capitals (Illustration No. 10 B). They bear no

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11. *Loc. cit.*
12. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 312.

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relation to the ornamental attached pillars noticed above. The pillars used internally in porches and dancing halls, are invariably of a thick massive square make, all but totally devoid of ornament; the only decorations used being a few plain mouldings. They rise from a naked plinth, and terminate in a similar square tile or abacus, serving the purpose of a capital. The shaft measures from $3\frac{3}{4}$ lengths of the thickness. Considering that the attached pillars and pilasters are generally exceedingly beautiful and ornate, it is certainly remarkable that these detached internal pillars should be so bald and unattractive ; but bearing in mind the heavy roofs they had to bear, the builders had to forego ornament for the sake of strength. The following are the relative proportions of some of the principal pillars that have come under observation:—

	Shape	Total height	Total base	Total Shaft	Total capital	Diameter of shaft	Ratio of diameter to shaft
Muktimaṇḍapa, outer range.	Round	9	1	4-6	3-4	2-7	1-70
Ditto, inner range.	„	9-5	1-1½	6-4	2-1	1-6	4-0
Nāṭmandir Bhuvaneśvara.	Square	21-3	2-9	13-3	5-3	4-0	3-07
Ditto, Puri outer range.	„	11-0	0-6	8-4	2-0	4-4	1-77
Jagmohan Bhuvaneśvara, Exterior.	„	12-7	2-5	7-8	2-5	2-1	3-71
Ditto, Tower, ditto.	„	11-7	2-0	6-6	3-1	1-8	3-6
Bhagavatī Pilaster.	round	12-2	0-6	8-5	3-3	1-1	7-72
Muktesvara Gate.	polygonal	9-4	2-0	5-1	2-3	2-2	2-31
Ditto, Pilasters of Jagmohan.	square	8-0	2-7	4-0	1-5	1-2½	3-33
Ditto, ditto.	round	8-0	...	...	...	0-7	...
Monolith, Puri.	poligonal	...	...	...	...	...	..,

In the ornamentation of the detached internal pillars, as already stated, the simplest mouldings were all that were resorted to, and no carving was ever thought of. But in the case of outer pillars, or pilasters, the architects followed a very different principle. Avowedly introduced as ornaments, the pilasters could be effectual only when they were carved and ornamented, and hence great pains were taken to make them as sumptuous as possible. Their length was broken by repeated bands, contractions and mouldings, and their surfaces were covered with a lavish profusion of carving of various kinds, including floral bands, lions, elephants and human figures in various attitudes. The lions were invariably placed in an unnatural erect posture to make room for them on the surface of a narrow pillar, and the elephants crouching under them, were so reduced in size as to bear no relation to the lions. Human figures are usually introduced as mere ornaments, but not as an integral part of the pilasters. They are mostly females, standing in conventional graceful attitudes, adorned most sumptuously with jewelry but very insufficiently clad. Sometimes thick stout

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dwarfs are put on the capitals, and made to represent as supports of architraves; they serve also as supports of abacuses, ledges of domes, edges of roofs, and other projections; but they are so placed as to appear distinct, and to some extent detached from the actual prop of the member. Nowhere in Orissa has the gross enormity of converting an entire pillar into the shape of a human being, like the caryatedes and telamones of Greece and Egypt, been attempted,[13] and this respect the Uriyās have displayed a better appreciation of the true principles of taste in architecture, than their more advanced brethren in other parts of the world.

Illustrations, Nos. 8,9,10 A and 10 B, are typical representations of detached pillars. The first forms the side post of an elegant archway in front of the Mukteśvara Jagmohan. On the side of it is represented a portion of the low parapet [**45**] wall which runs round three sides of the sacred fane. Its panels are very elegantly carved, and it is surmounted by battlements which are closely similar to Saracenic ornaments of the kind. The second is from the Dancing Hall of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. It has a plain square shaft with a peculiar capital formed of a succession of square blocks, the lower edge of the topmost one being cut aslant from below upards and outwards. The third occurs in the Dancing Hall of the Puri Temple. It differs from the last principally in the capital being formed of a single plain block. The last is *sui generis*. Its shaft is formed of a single block of chlorite, plain and rounded, with a capital peculiar to it. It occurs in a detached open *chaultry* in the south side of the Puri Temple, called Muktimaṇḍapa; but the *chaultry* is not synchronous with the temple itself. Looking, however, to the large number of costly pillars employed in its construction, it is to be supposed that the structure is of an early date. It is used as a lecture hall, where learned paṇḍits assemble to expound the Śāstras for the edification of the faithful.[14]

The most favourite ornament for the base is the *kumbha*, or pitcher, and that for the neck is a series of garlands of flowers or pearls, hung from the mouths of lions, and festooned in graceful curves. The ornaments are so variously combined and so fancifully introduced, that it is impssible to make out from the specimens that have come under notice, the principle, if there were any, upon which they were introduced.

In works on architecture, mention is made of mounmental columns having an unbroken cylindrical shaft from plinth to capital, and the Aśoka *lāṭs* afford the most remarkable instances of structures of that kind; but in Orissa, they have nowhere been met with. The nearest approach to them is offered by the monumental pillars of Puri and Jājapur, and they are polygons of sixteen sides. The column in front of the Bhogam-

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13. In the Tamulian structures of southern India such caryatedes and talemones are common.

14. For specimens of various other kinds of pillars see Rām Rāz's *History of Architecture*, Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, and *Illustrations of Indian Architecture*, Prinsep's *Illustrations of Benares*, Tod's *Rājasthān*, and Cunningham's *Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol, XX). The pillars of the Khaṇḍagiri rock-cut caves will be noticed further on.

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aṇḍapa at Bhuvaneśvara has a rounded shaft, but it is quite modern, probably not a hundred years old.

Cornice : The temples of Orissa have nothing like a projecting cornice, designed to throw off the rain water from the walls, and the transition from the body to the steeple takes place either imperceptibly, or is marked by one or more flat band,—rarely, and only in later structures, by a narrow neck. In highly ornamented temples, the capitals of the pilasters, terminating in a series of rings, mark the commencement of the steeple. The case is different with porches, dancing halls, refectories, and gateways : they have a deep cornice formed of oblong slabs projecting from 1½ to 3 or 4 feet. These stones are invariably placed horizontally, flat on the walls, and so built over as to keep them in their position without the aid of consoles, brackets, or other support of any kind. Indeed, in the whole range of Orissan porches there is not a single instance where any attempt has been made to strengthen the cornice by the gradual projection of the walls, or by a series of horizontal mouldings, or by the insertion of blocks at short intervals. In this respect the Orissan cornice of the Bhuvaneśvara era bears no relation to the Assyrian, Egyptian or Grecian cornices, which all rest on projections of some kind or other. At Benares this cornice of a single-stone projection is common, but there the stones are generally placed in a sloping position; but as the roof slopes inward into the form of a pyramid from the inner edge of the cornice, the structure appears weak and ungainly. Such is, however, not the case with the cornices of Bhuvaneśvara. There, aloft at a great height, they do not from below seem weak or ill-adapted. Nevertheless some of the cornice-stones of the porch of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara, which project over 4 feet, and most of those of the Puri porch, though of considerable thickness, were apparently unequal to bear the weight placed over them, or, as the Pāṇḍās maintain, were knocked down by lightning and when they had to be replaced, about two cenutries ago, the builders found it impossible to keep the new slabs in their places without the aid of iron stays. These latter have since been covered over with plaster, and moulded into the form of caryatides, ugly and obscene, not at all in keeping with the general character of the ordonnance. Projection under three feet have nowhere yielded to the superstructure.

In ornamented porches, the edges of the cornice-stones are most elaborately sculptured, the design being either floral scrolls, or processions of men, horses, elephants, or geese. Occasionally they are divided into square panels, and filled with single figures, or groups of animals and other designs. But whether sculptured or left plain, they invariably have on their upper edge a number of the lancet-headed crests described above; and these form their most peculiar characteristics. The amount of sculptured work displayed on the edges of these cornices is sometimes immense. Mr. Fergusson, adverting to the cornice of the porch of the Black Pagoda at Koṇārak, observes : " All the faces of these twelve cornices are covered by bassi-rilievi of processions, hunting scenes, and representations of all the occupations and amusements of life. The immense variety of illustrations of Hindu manners contained in it may be imagined when we think that, with a height of from one foot to eighteen inches, this frieze extends to nearly three thousand feet in length, and

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contains, probably, at least twice that number of figures.[15]

[46] A regular frieze under the cornice is all but unknown in Orissa, the only exceptions being the friezes of the Brahmeśvara and Mukteśvara temples; but the architrave over the pillars which flank the principal doorway is generally richly carved,—ordinarily with the figures of the nine planets,—occasionally with other designs; and the space above the architrave is not unfrequently made the repository of elaborate bas-reliefs.

Mouldings : The principal mouldings used in Orissan temples are the fillet and the *astragal*, the former passing, by widening, into broad flat bands of which further mention will follow. The regular *cyma* of classical architecture (both the *recta* and the *reversa*) is also common. It has an easy, gentle, delicate curvatare, very different from its Roman form of two semicircles linked together. By diversified combinations with the preceding, and with tiles, narrow necks, and the ovolo, it produces many exquisite forms. The *chain*, the *nebule* and the *nail-head* mouldings of the Norman style have nowhere been met with,-and the *rose* and the *dog's-tooth* ornaments are invariably replaced by lotuses, open or in bud. The *hatched* and the *crenulated* mouldings may be seen in several places within the enclosure of the Great Tower, as also the *lozenge* and the *indented* forms, or what may be taken as such; but neither the *star* nor the *scallop*. Reference has already been made to the *guillochi* or interlacing circular moulding, (*ante* p. [17]); but it is by no means of very frequent occurrence. The most common is the *pellet* or *beaded* moulding; it occurs almost everywhere, and, by differences in size and arrangement, assumes very diversified forms.

Sculpture : The great strength of the architects, however, lies in the most sumptuous floral scrolls which they have designed on all their leading bands or fascias. They are as well designed, as skilfully executed, and they reflect the highest credit on the artistic taste and ingenuity of the designers. In arranging them on the temples, the main object of ornament has been very carefully borne in mind, and their disposition appears the most appropriate. Instead of forcing architecture to subserve the purpose of " a mere framework for the setting of delicate sculpture ", the latter has everywhere been made to retain its subordinate position as ornament designed to set off the former. It certainly is in some places very florid, elaborate, and over-crowded, but still it appears subordinated to an end and not rendered itself the end. The diversities in the style, character, proportions and arrangements of these sculptured scrolls are so great, that it is scarcely possible to do more here than point out a few of the leading characterstic varieties. Their general outline is often alike, a winding or undulating scroll, enclosing more or less rounded spaces for flowers, leaves and animals. The flowers and foliage are of various kinds, and some of them are evidently fanciful, for they cannot be compared to anything living that I know of. Illustration, No.11, is a characteristic specimen of a carved scroll. It is formed of a gigantic pothos branch, enclosed by two rows of pellets, with a row of lotus petals below, and the characteristic crest above, shaped like a seated human figure. It occurs frequently in the Mukteśvara and the Bhagavati temples. The drawing has been taken from a specimen in the Mukteśvara. No. 12

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15. *Ancient Architecture of Hindustan*, 28.

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from the last named temple is a variety of it of common occurrence, and No. 13, the most ornate form, is from the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The vine is still the pothos, but the foliage appears arranged in a very graceful style, and is remarkable for the skill and taste with which it has been developed. As a specimen of scroll-work it will stand comparison with the finest sample of the kind of mediaeval or ancient times. Illustrations Nos. 14 and 16, from the Great Tower, and 18 from the Rājarāṇī temple, show the same creepers, but the foliage is scant, and the loops formed by the stalk enclose men and animals of various kinds, such as antelopes, deer, hogs, bulls, buffaloes, rabbits and the like; cranes, hogs and deer prevailing. In the first two, the pellet occurs on one side only. No. 20 from the Bhagavatī temple exhibits the same vine and foliage, but encloses, within the rounded folds of the stalk, little pigs and heads of elephants. The leaves in No. 21 from the Sārideül are different; the plant appears to me to be a succulent Cucurbitacea, but the style is very much the same. In general character, No. 22 from the same place, corresponds with the preceding; but it includes leaves and flowers of several kinds, as a tiger, an animal of rare occurrence in Orissan sculptures. These are all employed for both horizontal and vertical bands, and used principally round door-ways and niches. No. 15, from the Paraśurāmeśvara temple belongs to this class, but the foliage is altogether different, and it is intended only for vertical mouldings. It may well pass for a scroll under a Roman frieze. No. 24 from Mukteśvara does not show the pothos, nor make a creeper twine into loops, but masses the foliage in a rich, florid style. Its lancet crest bears on its face an emaciated hermit and his disciple, engaged in a game of chess over a folding table. The scroll is of rare occurrence, and is never carried to any great length, occurring only on brackets, capitals, of pilasters, and tops of niches, supplying in the last position the place of a dripstone moulding. No. 19, from the Great Tower is a variety of this style, and on its crest is seen a monkey engagd in picking out lice from the head of a neighbour. In No. 23 from the Rājarāṇī temple the scroll is formed of a creeper issuing from the tail of a peacock. The foliage is entirely fanciful, but most elaborately and richly executed. Round a lattice frame in the Mukteśvara porch, No. 28, the foliage of the creeper is reduced to a minimum, and two stalks from opposite sides are made to form loops wherein gambol a number [47] of monkeys and crocodiles in great delight. A monkey has got his tail caught in the fork of a branch, and is hanging down in pain, while another with an anxious look is coming forward to release him. One is happy, having mounted on the back of a crocodile, which is darting forward to escape from the unusual load. This frightens two juveniles, one of which is climbing up a branch in great haste, while the other, having got to a safe distance, is grinning at the sight of the fun. In a third group there is a domestic scene. Mater familias is seated at her ease with a young hopeful in her lap, while one kind neighbour is busy picking out lice from her head, and another is occupied in the, to her delightful, task of eating them. In a fourth group a crocodile has caught a monkey by the tail which wriggles in great pain, while some good-natured companions crowd around, anxious, but unable, to help it. Altogether there are about two dozen groups of this kind, some including deer, elephants and other animals and they have been designed and executed with a degree of skill, vigour, and fanciful spirit that makes them

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look more like the work of a modern French caricaturist than that of an old Uriyā of the 7th or 8th century. The original has suffered much from long exposure, and my sketch of it is an exact fascimile taken with a *camera lucida*, and must therefore appear rough ; but as it is, were one to put it in a portfolio of Gustave Doré, or in Griset's " Grotesques, " it would, I fancy, be easily mistaken for the handiwork of one of those humorous artists. No. 25, from Paraśurāmeśvara, drops the twining vine altogether, and is formed of a series of lozenges tied to each other by ribbons, and enclosing curly petalled flowers, apparently a kind of *passiflora*; the spaces above and below the knots are filled up with curled petals or stamens of the same species of plant. On the lower side it has a row of pellets, and below it a string of lotus petals supported on a hatched zigzag moulding. It is neither very rich, nor common. It is used only for horizontal fascias. No. 31, from the same place, discards the festoons of creepers altogether, and takes a line of pitchers, bearing unknown or fanciful tendrils, leaves and flowers. The lower half of the pitcher is ribbed, and a garland of beads or flower-buds encircles its neck. This fascia has a fillet for its lower, and a corbel table for the upper, edge. The corbels are formed of three square tiles each, the smallest occupying the lowermost place; no parapet or continuous covering is placed over them. A very florid example of the pitcher band occurs in No. 32, from the same locality. No. 26 is entirely different from the last. It has a corbel table of carved ornaments, supporting a deep continuous projection above. The projection has a cable moulding enclosed in a winding band of ornamented lace. Above the last, and enclosed by two rows of fillets, occurs a line of cruciated four petalled flowers, evidently the golden jasmine *(Jasminum fruticans)*: the top is surmounted by a number of ornamented lancet-heads placed at short intervals. This moulding is of rare occurrence, and the only specimen noticed, was seen on the Mukteśvara temple. No. 17 from the Rājarāṇī temple is even more singular. It is formed of a range of either cucurbitaceous, or solenaceous, pyri-form ribbed fruits, or perhaps some flower buds strung together. No. 27 from Paraśurāmeśvara exhibits a combination of billets and pellets in a string-course. It has for its crest a peacock with a foliated tail similar to that in No. 23.

Of bands bearing only animals, a great number of specimens may be seen on the Great Tower and other rich temples. Nos. 29, 29A and 30 give examles of lines of elephants, and No. 34. of geese and goslings. The distinction between the old and young bird is well marked; and indicated with much spirit. Lines of horses, ducks and martial processions are like-wise common; but I had no opportunity of taking their drawings. No. 36, from the Great Tower, represents a man singing to the accompaniment of a *ḍholak* which is being played upon by a woman ; but in the attempt to put large figures, in a narrow band, the artist has been obliged to resort to very distorted positions, and altogether to spoil the effect.

It would be as useless as tedious to describe in detail the manner in which these various ornaments have been combined and disposed, particularly as the plates annexed will appeal to the eye and mind much more readily and effectually than any description that I can offer. The bands are used both singly, and in combination, often three, four, or five different bands being placed side by side so as to produce the most gorgeous effect. Round the

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principal doorways this combination of moulding is carried to an inordinate extent, and in some places a dozen bands may be seen placed side by side, and eked out by the intervention of small bas-reliefs of men and animals. A remarkable feature in such cases is formed by two snakes twining on each other. The snakes are generally most carefully executed in black chlorite, and the effect is very agreeable. At the entrance to the Great Tower, a broad band about a foot wide, is formed of an elegant pothos vine coiled into loops, each of which encloses a chubby little boy—a cherub without wings—disporting among the foliage. The design and execution of the juvenile figures are remarkably beautiful. They display a quiet grace, an artistic feeling, and a playful fancy which are deserving of every admiration; and this is the more noteworthy as Hindu artists are not particularly proficient in developing the human figure with a correct eye to nature. The sight of these little cherubs recalled to my mind Sir Joshua Reynold's picture of Cupid sleeping on a cloud in the Library of the Asiatic Society, as the fittest object of comparison, next only to a fat, handsome, healthy, living child of one year of age,—the most lovely object in creation. Unfortuntely, however, [**48**] for the taste of the artist of this elegant group, there is an adjoining band formed of square panels filled with ill-formed human couples in most disgustingly obscene positions. Counterparts of these two bands may be seen at the Koṇārak porch, but the execution of the cherubs there, is not nearly so good.

Weather-moulding : The simplest weather-moulding for doorways, windows, archways, niches &c, is a flat projecting tablet formed of a single slab, occasionally enriched with pellets, beads, ovules or other small ornaments; but in decorated work and particularly over the back ground of alti-rilievi, it is generally arched, having the inner edge foiled, and is elaborately ornamented all over. The keystone ornament for such an arch is ordinarily a lion's head, and when not placed on pillars, it springs from corbels, or brackets, of various designs. The back-frame of the statue of Bhagavatī in the Great Tower (Illustration No. 45) may be referred to as a characteristic example of this arch. Over the side doors of temples, the lion's head is generally replaced by the figure of a simple or eccentric circle ornamented with beads and other decorations, and flanked by men, women, monkeys, alligators and other supporters. These look the very counterparts of European coats of arms, the scalloped European buckler being replaced by the Indian circular or oblong shield. The position of the supporters in the two cases are exactly alike. Sometimes the shield is placed above the lion's head. A plain, but very neat, specimen of an oblong shield with two female supporters is shown in Illustration No. 46. Monkeys and crocodiles as supporters are common, and elephants are occasionally met with, but I do not remember to have noticed any deer, horses, unicorns, or lions. The ornament is highly effective, and the architects have taken great pains to place it on prominent and attractive places, particularly near the springs of towers and the pyramidal roofs of porches, as also over door-frames and hood-moulds. The eccentric circular figure referred to above, and represented on lancet-headed crests, and a variety of other situations, forms a peculiar and characteristic feature of Uriyā art. It is formed of two, three, and rarely of four circles of different diameters, the lower peripheries resting on each other, but the top of the outer one, and not uncommonly of all the circles, opening like the mouth of a pitcher, or more

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commonly drawn out in a line like the stem of a glass-bulb. It is to be presumed that it has a mystical meaning, and that of a phallic character, as it is closely similar in shape to the *yoni* which encircles the middle of the *lingam*. Illustration No. 38 from the Sārideül offers a characteristic specimen of the ornament.

Brackets : Brackets are of frequent occurrence in all decorated temples; but never in the inside, as in mediaevl European churches, for the support of statues, or the ends of the arched frameworks of roofs. They are used, as all ornaments generally are in Orissa, on the outside, either as springs for drip-stones, or as mere ornaments. They are variously shaped, sometimes nearly plain, or ornamented only with mouldings; but usually carved over into foliage or animals intertwined with mouldings. Illustration No. 40 from the Rājarāṇī temple is an example of a very rich bracket of the lotus-pattern. It is very common and particularly characteristic.

Bosses : As ornamental stops of finishing to mouldings, or to cover them where they intersect each other, or to fill up blanks, bosses or pateras are of constant use. They are usually carved into human figures or heads, animals, foliage &c., or foliage combined with heads and animals. The designs are various, sometimes grotesque, but generally very pretty. Illustration No. 51 from Sārideül represents a parrot smoothing its feathers. No. 52 shows a turkey engaged in the same occupation. No. 50 gives the forepart of a boar, the body being covered by the leaf of a succulent cucurbitacea; No. 49 a rat seated on a flower and gnawing a fruit; and No. 57, a curious and ingenious piece of whimsicality, in which two heads, two pairs of arms, and two pairs of legs are so arranged as to build up four complete human, or quasi-human, figures. Each head and each pair of limbs are so placed as to do duty for two figures. The composition is peculiarly grotesque, but remarkably skilful. No. 53 to 56, show other and characteristic specimens. Rabbits and cranes are frequently introduced, but boars, sows and pigs appear to have been the greatest favourites, and their frequent presence suggests the idea that, though held highly impure in the present day, those animals were not objects of aversion when the temples were built. Nor is this a matter of surprise, seeing that Manu ordains the meat of the wild boar as a choice article of food for both men and gods, and the Kṣatriyas and the Rajputs in all quasi-indepent states, as well as in Orissa, take a great delight in hunting the wild hog for food. In Bengal and the large cities of the North-West, where the Muhammadan power was firmly established, and large Moslim populations had settled with the natives of the country, the animal is most abhorred, and the inference follows that the hatred is due to a deference to the feelings of the conquerors, and not to any religious compunction of the natives. A neighbourly feeling of the kind has induced many Muhammadans of Bengal not only to abstain from beef, but to look upon it with a feeling of repugnance. The feeling was stronger before than it is now.

Finials : Attention has already been drawn to the Rāmarekhās lancet-headed crestor, and in the plates which illustrate this work, many examples will be met with of the various forms which they assume under different treatment, and how they often serve the purposes of finials. They are, however, by no means the only type of finials in use in Orissan

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temples. Foliated crests of various kinds are frequently introduced, and some of them are remarkably handsome. [49] Hip-knobs in English architecture are occasionally met with, and so are little spires, somewhat like the spires of Gothic churches, but of very different designs. Illustration No. 39 exhibits a finial or spire of this description from the temple of Bhagavatī. It is a rich specimen of its kind, though somewhat heavy in appearance. It has a characteristic chaplet of *aśoka* leaves, to a Hindu the most appropriate emblem of the faithful wife,[16] for a pendant, and lotus petals for capitals; the scrolls being formed of a cucurbitaceous vine, very much modified by fancy. On its top, within a small circle, there is a peculiar ornament, apparently a flower-bud, which I can liken to nothing so close as the ball flower of the Gothic architects—a form of floral design not uncommon in Orissa.

The lotus, as may be expected from the circumstance of its being the most gorgeous and handsome flower in India, is by far the greatest favourite, and in Orissa, as elsewhere, occurs everywhere and in various forms, in bud, in a half-open state, and in full-blown flowers. In some specimens, the attempt to delineate nature is very nearly successful, but a conventional form is what is generally adopted, in which single flowers of four, six, or eight petals are made to do duty for dense double blossoms. Pedestals of statues and foot-stools for goddesses are often formed of large multipetalled lotuses, but in such positions they are generally not so faithfully executed as in basso-rilievo scrolls, owing evidently to a want of proportion, their size and shape being regulated by the exigencies of their situation, and not by the relation they bear to man in nature. On the whole, however, these, lotuses as well as all floral designs, are carved with great tact and elegance, and if sufficient allowance be made for the coarse material in which they are developed, the attempt of the Orissan artist to represnt vegetable forms will be readily acknowledged to have been much more successful than that of Egyptian and Assyrian sculptors. The superiority of marble over sandstone as a material for sculpture is overwhelming, and even very inferior carvings in it appear before the bulk of mankind with an amount of grace and beauty, which no other material can command. The most faithful cast in plaster of Paris of the Venus de Medici, or of the Apollo Belvedere, cannot for a moment produce the impression that the original does. That peculiar translucency of the surface of the finer kinds of marble, which invests all works carved in them with a characteristic charm, and completely cheats the eye of the beholder, is not possessed by any other material, and therefore, there is an initial disadvantage in comparing work done in sandstone with those made of marble. The superiority of marble, however, is due to nature and not to art; and in judging of artistic taste and capability, it would be but fair not to look to the material, but to the design and the manner in which sculptures are worked out ; and if this canon be admitted, and the works

16. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā is described to have been confined in an Aśoka grove, and there subjected to great oppression and harshness to force her to the wishes of Rāvaṇa, but in vain ; and Hindu women accordingly associate the idea of constancy and chastity with the tree, eating its blossoms and offering it adoration. On the 7th of the waxing moon in Caitra a special feast is observed by them called Aśoka Saptamī.

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of Uriyā artists be judged by their aesthetic design, their freedom and boldness of outline, and general execution, they will not suffer much by comparison with those of any other nation of their time or of antiquity.

"The Greek treatment of the acanthus and other vegetable forms may be", as noticed by Professor Lübke "a model for all ages : and Roman art also has produced leaf-work which is thoroughly perfect in style", [17] but, due allowance being made for the difference of material, the differences between them and Uriyā art as manifested in the delineation of vegetable life, is not so overwhelmingly great as is apt to be supposed. Carefully judged, many points will offer in which a comparison may be held without discredit to the latter.

According to the author just quoted "the representation of *vegetable life* is excluded from the sphere of sculpture". "Whenever consequently a vegetable creation is introduced into a work of" (Greek or Roman) "sculpture as an aid to the understanding of local and other relations, scuplture is obliged to give up all detailed delineation, and rather to produce a symbolic intimation than an imitation of actual reality". [18] The same, however, cannot be predicated of Orissan art. In it vegetable life forms just as much a subject of sculpture as any other object in nature, and, as a matter of fact, has been represented much more largely than animal, or human, life. This peculiarity may be due to the amount of artistic talent necessary for carving vegetable forms being small, or to the fact of such forms sorting best with the genius and taste of the people, but this is certain that the Uriyā artists depended very largely on the beauty of their vegetable forms for the success of their works, and introduced them as primary, and not accessory, ornaments in their architecture much more extensively than any other nation of antiquity. It is not to be denied that vegetable representations in stone must necessarily be to a certain extent wanting in "detailed delineation," and also to some, but not to the full, extent implied by the words, "rather symbolic intimations than imitations of actual reality". Circumstances render this unavoidable, and Uriyā works form no exception to the rule. There is, nevertheless, visible in the latter a considerable amount of success in faithfully representing nature. It should also be observed that "ornament has," as justly and very pointedly put by Ruskin, "two entirely distinct sources of agreeableness : one, that of the [50] abstract beauty of its forms ; ... the other, the sense of human labour and care spent upon it. How great this latter influence we may perhaps judge, by considering that there is not a cluster of weeds growing in any cranny of ruin which has not a beauty in all respects *nearly* equal, and, in some, immeasurably superior, to that of the most elaborate sculpture of its stones : and that all our interest in the carved work, our sense of its richness, though it is tenfold less rich than the knots of grass beside it ; of its delicacy, though it is a thousandfold less delicate ; of its admirableness, though a million-fold less admirable ; results from our consciousness of its being the works of poor, clumsy, toilsome man. Its true delightfulness depends on our discovering in it the record of thou-

17. Lübke's *History of Sculpture*, I, p. 3.
18. *Loc. cit.*

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ghts, and intents, and trials, and heartbreakings—of recoveries and joyfulness of success : all this can be traced by a practised eye ; but, granting it even obscure, it is presumed or understood ; and in that is the worth of the thing, just as much as of anything else we call precious"[19] This extraneous or adventitious value in Orissan floral ornament deserves especial mention. Combined with a considerable amount of faithful representation and integrity there is an amount of luxuriance of decoration, of picturesque arrangement, and of sumptuous display of successful human labour governed by thorough intellectuality that claims a high meed of praise.

Animal life: In the representation of vegetable life in sculpture the artist has only form and motion to study, but no life, such life and freshness as are visible in vegetation after a summer shower, or the depression noticeable under a parching hot sun, belonging to the province of the painter, and not being attainable by the sculptor's art. The task of the artist, therefore, is easier when he carves foliage, flowers, and trees than when he undertakes to reproduce the brute creation in stone. Then he has, besides form and motion, some ethereal, intangible, but at the same time most important elements, viz., sensuous passions, to portray, and his undertaking becomes proportionately more arduous. But the Uriyās did not prove unequal to the task. They made considerable progress in it, and displayed much tact and ingenuity. Reference has already been made to their life-like pictures of monkeys, and the success with which sensuous passions have been shown in them, (*ante* p. [47]). The elephant has also been carved and chiselled with great skill. The horse at the southern gate of the Koṇārak porch is remarkably well-proportioned, and representations of rats, parrots, geese, goslings, deer, and other animals, shown in the illustrations annexed to this work will, I imagine, be generally acknowledged to be pretty close imitations of nature. A colossal bull in the enclosure of the Great Tower is also worthy of note as a specimen of well-finished animal-carving.

The lion among animals, is however, invariably ill-carved. It has everywhere a conventional, unnatural half-dog half-wolf look about it that is as unlike a real lion as it well can be. Its claws, mane and position, either erect or rampant, are also altogether unnatural. It is generally represented as trampling on an elephant about one-half to one-sixth of its size, crouching under its forelegs. Looking at groups like these, and the marked disparity in the size of the two animals, I am disposed to think that the lion had become extinct in Orissa when the sculptures were made, and the artists had to depend upon tradition and their imagination to produce its likeness. This inference receives some support from the fact of the lions in the Udayagiri bas-reliefs being much better shaped, and they, it is to be presumed, were delineated when the animal was common in the country. In central and western India lions are still met with ;[20] but in Bengal they have long since become extinct, and the tradition is that, with the exception of a single animal

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19. *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 48.

20. In the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1868, p. 198, Dr. King adduces several instances of the true lion, not the maneless animal of Guzerat, having been recently shot by sportsmen in Gunāh in Central India.

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sacred to Bhagavatī now living in the wilderness near Kāmākhyā, in Assam, there is no lion in existence in India. The Egyptians, as also the Assyrians, were superior to the Uriyās in this respect : their lions were not unoften carefully carved, displaying the muscles, of their limbs to great advantage, and showing that when uncontrolled by religion the artists could imitate nature as successfully as their contemporaries. Some of their winged lions, however, are quite as bad as those of the Uriyās. Winged bulls and lions are unknown in Orissa.

Human figures : Ascending from vegetable and animal to human life, we come to where the sculptor's art attains its highest perfection. It is then that it attempts "the representation of the divine, and the heroic", and the infusion into it of "the spark of divine life, the conscious soul", and "a reflex of immortal beauty, idealizing lifeless handicraft". Then it is that it becomes "an animated spirit-breathing art", which, according to Socrates in his dialogue with the sculptor Clito,—"must represent the emotions of the soul by form". These predicates are, however, true only when applied to Grecian art in its perfection, and also to Roman art as a reflexion of Grecian genius. No other ancient art made any near approach to that perfection. The Hindus were as far behind it as the Egyptians, Assyrians and Persians. The gulf between them and the Grecian artists of the golden age is wide and deep. The unique and inimitable perfection of the Phidian and the Praxitelian schools has hitherto been the great object of envy to artists of every age and clime, and it would be as idle to compare the works of the Uriyā sculptors with the grand and [51] the beautiful of the sacred land of art, as to compare the paintings of India with the *chef d'oeuvre* of Raphael. The schools which preceded them were, however, neither so perfect, nor so far above the ordinary run of art in other ancient seats of civilization as to remove them from the sphere of comparison. The Etruscan, the Egyptian, and the Assyrian schools, have peculiarities which may be compared to advantage with those of Orissan sculpture to settle their relative merits. Doubtless they flourished long before the Orissan school, and a comparison between them cannot be fair to the ancient nations concerned ; but as the object here is not to award the palm of superiority to any one nation, but to ascertain the position which should be assigned to the Uriyā artists in the history of art, it will, I think, not be held objectionable.

The necessity for the comparison also arises from the circumstance of there existing a very erroneous impression on the subject in Europe, owing doubtless to a want of adequate information. Authors, who devote chapter after chapter, and not unoften entire works, to Egyptian and Assyrian art, refer perfunctorily, only as a matter of form, to Indian art, and simply to declare that it is unworthy of notice, or fit only to be condemned. The spirit in which the subject is generally taken up will be best illustrated by the following quotation from Mr. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*. After treating of the nature and character of Assyrian art, he says : "There is no temptation to dwell at length upon the sculpture of Hindustan. It affords no assistance in tracing the history of art, and its debased quality deprives it of all interest as a phase of fine art, the point of view from which it would here be considered. It must be admitted, however, that the works existing have sufficient character to stamp their nationality ; and although they possess no properties that can make them valuable as useful examples for the student, they offer very curious

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subject of enquiry to the scholar and archaeologist. The sculptures found in various parts of India, at Ellora, Elephanta, and other places, are of a strictly symbolical or mythological character. They usually consist of monstrous combinations of human and brute forms, repulsive from their ugliness and outrageous defiance of rule and even possibility"[21]. Dr. Wilhelm Lübke, in each of his two magnificent works, *The History of art*, and *The History of Sculpture*, has devoted a few pages to India, but, like the author above noticed, only to come to the conclusion that the national religion of the people of this country could not favor the plastic art, and so they have none worthy of the name. After descanting on the effect of Hinduism and Buddhism on the mind of man, he says :

"In such a tendency of mind, the works of sculpture have suffered most. No religion ever brought to light such bombast of confused and mystical ideas as that of the Brāhmin. The character of the people inclines more than that of any other race to effeminate self-absorption and brooding speculation. Thoughtfulnesss degenerates at once into distorted ideas. The dreams of their wild imagination produced a mythology, the forms of which seem to ridicule all plastic representation. The divine beings are opposed to ordinary men by the unnatural number of their heads, arms, and legs. Thus the god Rāvaṇa is represented with ten heads and twenty arms ; Brahmā and Viṣṇu with four ; Śiva with four or five heads—the latter sometimes, indeed, with one head, but in that case it is furnished with three eyes. Occasionally Viṣṇu appears with a bear's or lion's head and Gaṇeśa even with that of an elephant ; and, lastly, there are three-headed figures, denoting nothing less than the Indian Trinity (Trimūrti), Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu.

"The form, therefore, that would appear to us as a monster is by them regarded as a god. How low is the stage of consciousness which can recognize the divine only in that which is unnatural, distorted, and monstrous ! And how should sculpture ever rise to higher forms when hand in hand with such a religion ! Langlés, in his *Monuments of Indian Art*, gives the copy of a drawing by a Brāhmin, from the Imperial Library at Paris, which exhibits better than many words the unplastic spirit of these religious ideas. The subject is the birth of Brahmā. Viṣṇu is represented as a woman, lying feebly on a lotus leaf. All round are to be seen small fishes, and among them a floating man. This is the expiator, Mārkaṇḍeya, who swims about in the Milky Way to save the world from destruction. Viṣṇu is naked, and is adorned with foolish ornaments ; after the fashion of a child, he holds his left foot with its large toes, in his mouth. The many-headed, many-armed, and many-legged Brahmā is fastened to his umbilical cord. This one instance of the theological ideas of Brahminical dogmatism will suffice.

" It is almost exclusively subjects of mythology which engage Indian sculpture. A simple representation of actual life seems almost entirely lacking. How should art be inspired to delineate the circumstances of daily existence, when, according to the teaching of the Brāhmins, the world was only to be regarded as a dream of Brahmā's or the production of Māyā (delusion), and when, moreover, by the assumption of an endless transmigration of souls, the value of each individual creature became illusory ? Equally little can we

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21. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 50.

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look for the vigorous life of historical art on such a soil of mystical and speculative confusion. It is only exceptionally that we hear of such works, created as they are in a clearer and purer atmosphere. Yet we must not forbear here to point expressly to the scantiness and unreliable nature of our sources of information. Much as has been said of the splendour and fabulous magnificence of Indian works, the value of most of these reports is but small in a [52] critical point of view. We lack, moreover satisfactory drawings, which might compensate for the deficiency of information. For this reason, therefore, any accurate appreciation or historical representation of Indian sculpture has been hitherto impossible. We must, in consequence, limit ourselves entirely to certain general remarks.

" We find the great mass of Indian sculpture as reliefs on the facades of their rock temples, or on the outside of the pagodas. These productions of an extravagantly luxuriant architecture are often completely covered with sculptures. Equally frequently are they introduced also in the interior, in niches and on capitals and cornices. The Brahminical temples surpass in richness and fantastic wildness the Buddhist shrines, although at a later period Buddhism also could not resist the more splendid decoration of its monuments. The insulated statue, the highest and truest production of sculpture, is lacking to Indian art. Even the frequently colossal images of the seated Buddha, in the principal niche of Buddhist caves, are not statues but haut-reliefs. Deficient in freedom as she appears intellectually, Indian plastic art shows herself thus also outwardly; she is the slave of architecture, to which she must be subservient in all its caprices; mistress and slave, alike devoid of all pure artistic intention, combined in mystical confusion wild, fantastic, and monstrous ".[22]

Again, after commenting on what he describes as the " ancient, fantastic, polytheistic belief of Brāhmanism, which by its spiritless formula, its mechanical hypocrisy, and depressing creed of an everlasting migration of souls, had corrupted to the utmost the national mind of the Hindu people," Professor Lübke observes : "The feeling of the people however, did not create these sacred images from distinct conceptions, nor from pure human notions, but from dreamy fantastic ideas, and from mystical speculations. Art is here not merely the handmaid of religion, but the handmaid of a worship which finds approach to the idea of God in symbols of a monstrous kind. Wherever, therefore, the forms of the gods, or the history of their wonderful destiny, were to be portrayed, wherever deep and mysterious awe of the unapproachable was to be manifested, the accessories were only outwardly symbolic, and the vague attempt at effect is produced by heaps of wings, hands, arms and legs, or quaint combinations of animal and human bodies ".[23]

The lack of information to which reference has been made in the above extracts will account for the many serious errors and mis-statements, such as the absence of insulated statues and of simple representations of actual life, the relative dreaminess of Buddhism and Hinduism &c., which disfigure them; and it is unnecessary to refute them in detail. But the

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22. *History of Sculpture*, I, p. 12.
23. *History of Art*, I, p. 84.

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general principle on which their main argument is based, is so obviously and so entirely fallacious, that I cannot help expressing my wonder that a professor, historian and art-critic of Dr. Lübke's standing and reputation, should have so readily adopted it.

It is undeniable that religion exercised a most potent influence in the development of the plastic art in the early states of human society; and it is not surprising, therefore, that there should be observable prominent marks of a close alliance having existed between it and sculpture in former times. Then religion and sculpture often went forth hand in hand, and the light of the one frequently fell on the other. The same may be said of the fine arts generally, for poetry, music and architecture, were as intimately connected with religion as sculpture. But they are nevertheless by their origin and nature as distinct and separate as the different intellectual faculties of man can well be, and in their progress each of them has followed its course without being very materially controlled by its allies. At any rate, certain it is that plastic art attained its highest development, and called forth the greatest efforts of artistic genius, while living in close alliance with crass idolatry; and Christian Europe has hitherto failed to restore the lost hand of the "Laocoon" of idolatrous Rome. A far purer religion now prevails in Europe than was ever before known in Greece or Rome, and the conception of the nature of the Deity there among the different orders of the people, is certainly better than that of the Grecians, class for class. But plastic art, instead of gaining by alliance with a higher state of intellectuality and a purer and holier religion, has positively degenerated, and fallen back. It is futile therefore to take for granted that the grossness of the Hindu religion and its metaphysical dreaminess are the only causes, or the chief causes, of the low character of the Indian plastic art, or rather to assume, as the professor has done, that Indian plastic art must be low, because the Hindu religion is bad.

It is not for me to plead in favor of Indian mythology, nor am I its apologist; but very few intelligent persons will venture to maintain that Greek mythology was ever much superior to it. There exists a family likeness between the two which has induced several to attribute to them a common origin. If so, and the professor's major be right, it would follow that the influence of religion on the fine arts should be alike in India and Greece. Moreover, plastic and pictorial representation of mythological allegories must give rise to forms which are unnatural, distorted, and monstrous, and nations which look upon such mythology as sacred, do not hesitate to recognise the divine in such forms. It remains, however, to be shown that this [53] recognition of divinity in forms which to Europeans of the present day appear monstrous, necessarily destroys, or overpowers, the aesthetic faculty, and that those who do so, are, as a matter of course, incapable of appreciating the beautiful. No nation of ancient or modern times has evinced a higher sense of the beautiful in art than the Grecians. The beau ideal of perfection in the human figure was conceived and developed by them, and them only, and yet the same Grecians recognized in Triton, the "upper part of whose body was human, and the lower part like that of a fish, with a tail turned in a lunar form", a god, and the son of their great god Neptune. They had also a god, Pan, "who had the body of a man, a red face with a flat nose, horns upon his head, and the legs, thighs, tail, and feet of a goat". Another of their gods, Typhoeus,

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son of Earth by Tartaros, was hundred-headed, and three sons of their great god Uranos, namely, Cottos, Briareos, and Gyés, had each a hundred hands (*eka togkheires*). These were certainly more monstrous than the elaphocephalous Gaṇeśa, the four-headed Brahmā, and the ten-handed Dūrgā of the Indian mythology. As to the four hands of Viṣṇu, it would not be amiss to observe that aesthetically two pairs of hands for a single human figure are not more unnatural than a pair of hands and a pair of wings on the same figure, such as the Greeks and the Romans clapped on even their handsomest Cupids. Viṣṇu with a lion's head has his counterpart in Oceanos who, according to Euripidés, was " bull-headed " (*tanrokhranos*). Then for Rāvaṇa, whom Professor Lübke takes to be a god, but who is an avowed monster, and other Indian abnormal representations, the Grecians had their Sirens who, whatever their original forms, were by their artists " furnished with the feathers, feet, wings and tails of birds ", and are so described by Apollonios (IV.898) ;—their Gorgons, whom Aeschylus calls " the three sisters of the Graeae, winged, serpent-fleeced, hateful to man, whom no one can look on and retain his breath; i.e. live ". —(Prom. 800 *et seq.*);—their Graeae, " the three long-lived maids, swan-formed, having one tooth and one eye in common, on whom neither the sun with his beams nor the night moon ever looks "; (*op. cit.*); —their Harpies, " odious, offensive monsters with female faces, and the bodies, wings, and claws of birds ;—their Satyrs and Tatyrs and Centaurs: these are beings which certainly inspire no very lofty sense of the ideal of beauty in the issues of Grecian gods and supernatural beings; but they at the same time afford unmistakable evidences " of attempts to produce effect by the quaint combinations of animal and human bodies ", which, in connexion with the Hindus, Professor Lübke so emphatically condemns.

Nor were these beings merely the *dramatis personae* of myths and legends ; most of them formed the subjects of plastic art among the Greeks and their greatest artists not only prepared them, but prized them most highly. It is said that Phryne, the Theban courtesan, after whom Praxiteles had chiselled two of his inimitable Venuses, wishing to possess the finest piece of work in the atelier of the great master, 'sent one day a servant to Praxiteles to tell him that his workshop was in flames, and that his works were in danger of being destroyed. Praxiteles rushed out in the greatest alarm and anxiety, exclaiming that "all was lost if his Satyr and Cupid were not saved".[24] The exclamation gave the shrewd woman an idea of what was the most valuable in the estimation of Praxiteles, and she took the Satyr for choice. This shows that it was possible for the artist who conceived and perfected the renowned Cnidian Venus and the handsomest Cupid, likewise to conceive and develop a Satyr, and, what is more to hold the Satyr and the Cupid in equal estimation. It is evident also that the nation which believed in a gross polytheistical religion, and accepted Triton and Pan for divinities, could appreciate, and, by its appreciation, lead to the production of the finest works of art that human ingenuity has ever brought forth. The Romans, likewise, following an equally gross polytheistical religion, and believing in

24. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 180.

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the divinity of the two-headed Janus,[25] did produce works which continue to this day the models of perfection.

Looking to these facts, the only conclusion that can be arrived at is, that however great the influence of religion on the plastic art, and great it certainly was at one time, it never was sufficient to destroy her separate existence, or even to control to any material extent her independent progress. When in alliance with religion, she served religion faithfully, by producing forms which it demanded, without any reference to taste, but she never lost her yearning to advance to perfection, and that irrespective, and even in defiance, of the checks, which religion tried to impose on her. The yearning was strong enough even in the very early times of the ancient Egyptians, who had to lay down rules to prevent the statues of gods from being carved in other than the old conventional self-same way which their forefathers had approved during the infancy of the art. The Hindus did the same ; and yet the Egyptians and the Hindus failed to prevent the delineation of simple objects of nature and scenes of everyday life, so as to make the attempt at imitation more and mor faithful, and quite different from what the rules insisted upon. In the same way, when serving as a hand-maid to poetry, plastic [54] art, without forgetting her own true end, tried her best to give shape and form to poetical ideas and allegories, and did so without reference to the extent to which she conformed to natural laws. Phidias, carving his celebrated figure of Minerva, thirty-nine feet high, had to put on her hand a winged figure of victory, and this could be done by making a full-grown and fully-dressed woman stand on the open palm of another, but the unnatural arrangement never deterred him from accomplishing the task he had undertaken. In later times, Michael Angelo was called upon, by the nature of his subject, to introduce a monster's head with the horns of a ram, at the bottom of his unrivalled work of art, the *Last Judgment*. In the creation of Eve in Wells Cathedral, there is a composition in which a human figure is shown leaning on a bench, and from his back projects the upper half of a female figure, i. e., a monster with two heads, and two trunks supported on one pair of legs The object of the artist, it is true, was only to represent a particular instant in the production of a natural being, but the resulting figure is abnormal for all that. Giovannida Bologna had to reduce to shape the allegory of Mercury or rumour depending on human tongue, and he designed a lithe, agile, nude male figure with a cap and wings on his head, leaping out of "expanding rays (but very material and like a bundle of sticks) issuing from the puffed cheeks, or rather mouth, of a zephyr, whose head only is exhibited".[26] Again, Benvenuto Cellini, in his no less celebrated than magnificent group of Perseus and Andromeda, represents Perseus descending from mid-air to liberate the captive fair, and save her from the attack of a dragon issuing from flames, but, as travelling in mid-air, however natural to birds, is

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25. Janus Bifrons or Biceps. This divinity seems not to have been always satisfied with his two heads, for "it is said that at the taking of Falerii a statue was found with four faces ; and at Rome there was a temple of Janus Quadrifrons,"—a veritable twin-brother of the Hindu Brahmā. See Keightley's *Mythology of Greece and Italy*, p. 463.

26. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 307.

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not quite consonant to human nature, the figure looks more like a man kicked down headlong from the top of a house than a hero descending for a fight with a monster. This offence against nature could not, however, be avoided. The story needed it, and the artist did what he could to preserve its substance. Similarly, when the Hindu artist had to give shape to the allegory of the birth of Brahmā, he designed, not a woman as supposed by Dr. Lübke, but an infant reclining on a leafy couch to typify the perfection of innocence and purity, and made it suck its toes, as an emblem of supreme happiness, and it is questionable if there is any other object in nature which can symbolise those attributes to greater perfection than an infant so occupied. The ornaments on the infant may be "foolish" according to European notions regarding such things, but there exist such excessive differences of opinion and so much local prejudice even among Europeans regarding the propriety and beauty of particular personal ornaments, that a very good plea, I fancy, may be urged in their favour, founded on the spirit of the age when the sculpture was first designed, and on the attachment of the people of this country to ornaments. The issue of an umbilical cord from the navel of such an infant, and the presence of a human figure,[27] Brahmā, on the top of it, however unpoetical, are, on the whole, not quite so revolting as the Eve of Wells Cathedral.

Besides mythology and poetical allegory there are other causes which lead to monstrous, unnatural, or incongruous representations in paintings and sculpture : these are caprice, artistic conceit, and extravagance, very similar to what are so common among poets. They lead to the production of rams issuing from the volutes of Corinthian or composite pillars ; of human figures whose nether halves are formed of undulating dock weeds,—compositions which first made their appearance on the frieze of Torre de Nerone, and long after got into fashion among the artists of the Renaissance ; —of lions and bulls whose hind quarters are formed of the same weed ; and of a variety of other unnatural forms, some very pleasing, others grotesque and repulsive. But such vagaries, whether resulting from mythological, allegorical, poetical, or artistic causes, are mere accidents, and not the essentials of the plastic art, and their presence therefore, does not afford sufficient *a priori* argument against the possibility of the Hindus attaining any great proficiency in sculpture. That they did not attain it is a fact not to be denied ; but the cause is to be looked for elsewhere than in their religion. What the cause was which led to this negative result I shall not venture to guess, seeing that European scholars have not yet been able satisfactorily to account for the positive superiority of the Greeks.[28]

Daedalian school : The different ancient schools with which Orissan art may be compared are the Daedalian, the Aeginetan, the Etruscan, the Egyptian, and the Assyrian. They all show manifest marks of an early state of art—of an art which had risen above the rude imitation of primitive races—of mere ingenious carving,—and fully assumed its position as an art, but was still wanting the genius of a great master—of a Phidias—who

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27. The multiplicity of hands and feet assigned by Dr. Lübke to Brahmā is not authorised by the allegory, and is probably due to a mistake.

28. Westmacott's *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 76.

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could emancipate it from its archaic and hieratic fetters, and may, therefore, be fairly put in juxtaposition with the Uriyā school, notwithstanding the fact of there being great differences in their ages. The general character of the school of Daedalus is well exemplified in "the self-same face, figure and action of Jupiter, Neptune, Hercules, and several heroic characters" : their "narrow eyes, their thin lips with the corners of the mouth turned upwards, their pointed chin, narrow loins, and turgid muscles",[29] all bespeak of a primitive age of art.

[55] Aeginetan school : The works of the Aeginetan age (B.C. 580-480) are somewhat in advance of the last; but " the heads are still either totally destitute of expression, or are all reduced to a general and conventional expression ", and by " the oblique position of the eyes and mouth, they present that forced smile which seems to have been the characteristic feature common to all productions of the ancient style ".[30] Adverting to this era Mr. Westmacott, in his remarks on the celebrated collection of statues discovered in 1812 in the island of Aegina, observes : " Here again the archaic element steps in the character of the head, which exhibits all the peculiarities of the more ancient schools before referred to. However earnestly engaged, and even when wounded or dying, each warrior or hero has a smiling expression; the mouth being slightly open, as though the occupation of slaying and being slain was of the most pleasing and satisfactory nature ".[31]

Professor Lübke's estimate of the merits of this school is very much the same. Talking of Greek art of the end of the 6th century, he says : " We find animals fighting, then a lion tearing a roe to pieces; then sphinxes and centaurs, human figures with fishes' bodies and other phantastic devices, side by side with scenes from actual life, such as men reclining at a social feast; and all in a heavy stiff style, the figures strongly out of proportion and varying in size ".[32]

Etruscan schools : The first style of the Etruscan art was far inferior to that of Daedalus. " The rectilinear lines, the rigid attitude, the imperfect moulding of the features, the want of proportion in the limbs, and the oblique eyes which characterise it, and which received from the Romans the contemptuous name of opera Tuscanica", and the exaggerated form of its second style, the very opposite of all that is graceful, easy, and flowing, place them in a low stage. The superiority of the later Etruscan, as of the Roman, style is due to the influence of the Greek art of the golden age, and need not therefore be noticed in detail.

Egyptian school : Egyptian art is by far the oldest; but by no means the most perfect. " Egyptian bas-relief ", says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, " appears to have been, in its origin, a mere copy of painting, its predecessor. The first attempt to represent the figures of gods, sacred emblems, and other subjects, consisted in painting simple outlines of them on a flat

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29. Westropp's *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 126.
30. *Ibid*, p. 126.
31. *Handbook of Sculpture*, p. 109.
32. *History of Sculpture*, I, p. 82.

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surface, the details being afterwards put in with colour; but in process of time these forms were traced on stone with a tool, and the intermediate space between the various figures being afterwards cut away, the once level surface assumed the appearance of a bas-relief. It was, in fact, a pictorial representation on stone, which is evidently the character of all the bas-reliefs on Egyptian monuments; and which readily accounts for the imperfect arrangement of their figures.

" Deficient in conception, and above all, in a proper knowledge of grouping, they were unable to form those combinations which give true expression; every picture was made up of isolated parts put together according to some general notions, but without harmony or preconceived effect. The human face, the whole body, and everything they introduced, were composed in the same manner, of separate members placed together one by one according to their relative situations : the eye, the nose, and other features, composed a face ; but the expression of feelings and passions was entirely wanting ; and the countenance of the king, whether charging an enemy's phalanx in the heat of battle, or peaceably offering incense in a sombre temple, presented the same outline, and the same inanimate look. The peculiarity of the front view of an eye, introduced in a profile, is thus accounted for ; it was the ordinary representation of that feature added to a profile, and no allowance was made for any change in the position of the head.

" It was the same with drapery : the figure was first drawn, and the drapery then added, not as a part of the whole, but as an accessory ; they had no general conception, no previous idea of the effect required to distinguish the warrior or the priest, beyond the impressions received from costume, or from the subject of which he formed a part ; and the same figure was dressed according to the character it was intended to perform. Every portion of a picture was conceived by itself, and inserted, as it was wanted to complete the scene ; and when the walls of the building, where a subject was to be drawn, had been accurately ruled with squares, the figures were introduced and fitted to this mechanical arrangement. The members were appended to the body, and these squares regulated their form and distribution, in whatever posture they might be placed.

" Thus then, as Diodorus observes of Egyptian statues, Various portions of the same figure might be made by several artists in different places, the style and attitude having been previously agreed upon, which, when brought togther, would necessarily agree and form a complete whole ".[33]

This uniformity, rigidity, and absence of nature and life which characterise the bas-reliefs, may likewise be noticed in the statues of Egypt. Page after page may be turned of the whole series of the ponderous tomes[34] of the savants who accompanied Napoleon the Great in his Egyptian expedition, without encountering a single human figure which has any life, expression, or action—any dignity, grace, or ease—about it ; or is other

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33, Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, III, p. 264.

34. The writer regrets the necessity of depending here and elsewhere upon secondary evidence in the absence of personal knowledge of the originals. The evidence in the present instance, however, is generally acknowledged to be faithful.

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than a stiff, formal, rude imitation of nature. The cause of this may be partly due to the law referred to by Plato which forbade the artists to depart, in the slightest degree, in the execution of statues of the human form from the type consecrated by priestly authority, but it implies likewise a primitive state of art, and want of appreciation of, or inability to develop, the beauty of nature in stone. True it is, as justly remarked by Plato, "that the pictures and statues made ten thousand years ago are in no one particular better or worse than what they now make."[35] The statues may be colossal in size, and vast in number, and, for the time when they were sculptured, highly creditable to the nation which made them ; but they are neither natural nor beautiful.

Assyrian school : The sculptures of Assyria are superior to those of Egypt. They display much more life, energy and action. According to M. Beulé, "Ce don de saisir l'énergie de l'action et de caractériser la force physique est le principal mérite de la sculpture ninivite ; elle constitue son originalité. Je ne sais trop si la race assyrienne fournissait le modéle de ces corps si bien charpentés, aux formes athlétiques, aux muscles tendus comme des cordages ; je crois plutot que les artistes avaient exagéré la nature et créé cette convention. De meme que les artistes égyptiens effacent les saillies sur la peau, font la tete, les membres, les extrémités greles, et obtiennent un type idéal et presque immatériel ; de meme les artistes assyriens se plaisent a faire les corps trapus, les épaules larges, la tete forte, le cou puissant, les bras et les jambes conturés par la tension des veines et des muscles."[36] They are, however, as deficient in the true spirit of art as the sculptures of Egypt. The author quoted above thus sums up the defects of Assyrian art : "Ce qui prouve que, dans l 'un et l'autre pays, on etait arrivé a une convention absolue' c'est que les manoeuvres, les prisonniers, les ennemis qui habitent sur les frontieres les plus reculées, sont figurés avec la meme forme, qui n'était plus qu'une sorte d'écriture signifiant *l'homme* ; de meme que toutes les tetes ont la meme coiffure, la meme barbe bouclée, le meme nez, le meme oéil. Le costume et la richesse des ornements servent seuls a distinguer le roi du dernier de ses soldats. Quant aux eunuques, il sont le maintien lisse et la chevelure des femmes avec des membres et des muscles virils."[37]

Orissan school : In all these there are peculiarities which may be more or less predicated of Orissan art ; but at the same time there are points of excellence in it which are not to be met with in the ancient schools named. The conventionality of form, which is so marked in them, prevails to some extent everywhere in India. It resulted from indolence, combined with a desire to imitate art instead of nature, under circumstances which were particularly favourable to such mannerism. Untouched by extraneous influences, art in Orissa successively rose, became stationary, and declined with the civilization of the people, very much in the same way which marked its course in Egypt and elsewhere ; and its characteristics must to a certain extent be alike. The manner in which this conventionality takes the place of nature, has been most forcibly pointed out by

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35. Plato, II. *Book of Laws.*
36. *L' Art Assyrien,* par M. Beulé ; *Journal des Savans,* Juillet 1870, p. 422.
37. *Ibid, loc. cit.*

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Mr. Layard in his remarks on the decline of Assyrian art. "A certain proficiency", he says, "had been attained, and no violent changes took place to shake the established order of things, the artist, instead of endeavouring to imitate that which he saw in nature, received as correct delineations the works of his predecessors, and made them his types and his models. In some countries, as in Egypt, religion may have contributed to this result. Whilst the imagination, as well as the hand, was fettered by prejudices, and even by law, or whilst indolence or ignorance led to the mere servile copying of what had been done before, it may easily be conceived how rapidly a deviation from correctness of form would take place. As each transmitted the errors of those who preceded him, and added to them, himself, it is not wonderful, if, ere long, the whole became one great error. It is to be feared that this prescriptive love of imitation has exercised no less influence on modern art, than it did upon the arts of the ancients".[38]

Its general character : The art of the Uriyās had its foundation on the canons of the *Śilpa Śāstra* which itself deduced them when Indian art had attained a certain pitch of excellence, for it conforms to them in all its main features ; and thus taking a text-book instead of nature for its model, it had an uphill work to exceed the limit of excellence which that text assigned it. The *Śilpa Śāstra*, however, dwelt on the forms, proportions, and features of gods, but it said nothing about ordinary human figures, and the artists had accordingly some liberty in dealing with the latter ; but as gods are only the ideal types of men, the advantage was not considerable. Nevertheless conventional forms are more frequent in the representations of gods than in those of mortals ; and the statues of gods and goddesses in [**57**] Orissa, though carved in finer stones and finished with greater care and labour, are less successful as works of art than figures of ordinary men. This is best shown in Illustrations Nos. 63 and 64. The first is taken from a colossal figure of Bhagavatī, "the mother of the universe", elaborately carved in black chlorite, and placed in one of the principal niches of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara ; and the second, a mere ornamental figure of a dancing girl, in a side niche of the Rājarāṇī Temple ; and yet the mortal is far handsomer and more faithful to nature than the goddess. Illustrations Nos. 58, 59 and 60, also represent human figures, executed without much reliance on the rules of the *Śilpa Śāstra*, which may be taken to be average examples of the condition which the art of sculpturing such subjects had attained in Orissa. Generally speaking, the forms of Orissan human figures are light and natural, and their action easy and lively. There is also manifest in them a knowledge of anatomy, a study of the organic contexture of the body, of the contour of its different members, a sense of the laws of gravity and motion operating on the body under different circumstances, and an excellence of imitation, carried to such a degree of truth as to give convincing proofs of an advanced step, and a higher stage in the development of art than are to be met with in Egypt or Assyria. The outlines, instead of being hard, stiff, and rectilinear, as in Egyptian, Assyrian, Etruscan, and Daedalean sculptures, are everywhere rounded, soft, graceful, and in admirable repose. There is scarcely a single sharp angle, or a rigid straight line, in the

38. *Nineveh*, II, p. 282.

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whole composition to disturb its beauty ; and the execution throughout, though deficient to a certain extent in chiselling and finish, is such as to give the palm of superiority to Orissa. Even in small bas-reliefs, the easy grace of the king or the queen, the respectful attitude of the attendants, the versatility of the story-teller, and the gravity of the musician, are represented with considerable success. The bas-reliefs of Udayagiri, though coarser and very much decayed, are even more full of life, action, and energy, and display a considerable amount of artistic conception. The bas-reliefs of Sāñcī and Amarāvatī are inferior to the last in this respect, but they are nevertheless superior to those of Egypt and Assyria. In some examples the poetical hyperboles of exceedingly slender waist and large hips are attempted to be represented in stone at a sad sacrifice of truth ; but they are by no means the most finished samples of Uriyā art. The breasts are generally more protuberant than in Europe, Egypt, and Assyria, and are to some extent offensive to European taste ; but this is probably due to a faithful representation of Orissan life, and not to a defect of art, or to a vitiated taste of the people reflected on the artists. The female breasts are generally much more developed in India than in higher latitudes ; and in Orissa and Bengal they are particularly so, leading to early pendulosity to an extent unknown even in the North-Western Provinces. In the Panjab their size is generally not so large, nor does the declination commence until after the fortieth year, whereas in Bengal and Orissa it commences almost at the close of the teens, and the artist here, who would follow life, could not but produce something less beautiful than his brethren in Europe. This doubtless amounts to an admission that artists failed to develop the ideal —to combine in one figure the finest points of beauty from a hundred living models—such as the Greeks did, and the Indian poet conceived in his Tilottamā ; but the fact cannot be gainsaid.

Muscles : A similar attempt to represent nature faithfully has resulted in another defect which European artists cannot but complain of :[39] Indian statues are sadly want-

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39. Professor Lübke thus comments on this subject : "The organic structure of the body, the articulation of the bones, and the network of muscles and sinews, disappear beneath the veil of soft voluptuousness. Everything indicating vigorous strength and energy, and determination of will, is utterly repressed ; the figures are only qualified for a passive life of enjoyment, and for a vague dreaminess. They appear to us as devoid of free-will as the flower quivering on its stalk or the leaf trembling in the breeze. Characteristically enough Śakuntalā's arms are compared in poetry to supple stems. An insipid smile, indifferent and stereotyped, rests on the features of these figures". *History of Sculpture* I, p. 17). These remarks are made with especial reference to certain bas-reliefs of Ellora, but they are intended to be general, and to a certain extent are true, as admitted above. The cause assigned is, however, entirely wrong. The absence of muscles and sinews is not the result of the incapacity of Indian art, nor of dreamy nature of the Hindu religion, but of successful art faithfully representing the human form as modified by the Indian climate and oleaginous and vegetable diet. The sneer at the supple

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ing in muscles. The appearance of firmness, vigour, and strength, which so prominently characterises Grecian male figures, is due, to a great extent, to the bulging, knotty and rigid muscles they represent. The deltoid, the biceps, the pectoral, the gastronemius, and other muscles are all chiselled to perfection, and they strike the beholder with a sense of great strength and heroic manliness. Assyrian figures are, also, as stated above, well executed in this respect ; but in Orissa prominent muscles are but too frquently wanting. Even the statue of Kārtikeya, the mighty God of War, in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, to the execution of whose ornaments and garlands and brocade-dress the artist has devoted uncommon attention and labour, appears without a single muscle projecting from under his skin. The calves, arms, breasts, shoulders, in short the whole body, is rounded, soft and plump, like that of a woman. Kārtikeya, however, is a youthful divinity, partaking more of the Apollo than the Hercules of the Grecian [58] artists, and his plumpness, therefore, is in keeping with his myth. The nude male figures at Bhuvaneśvara, Puri, and Koṇārak are, likewise, all rounded, soft and plump, and in them is seen the portraiture of the Uriyā to perfection ; for he, like the Bengali, never attains anything like a well-developed calf, or a swelling deltoid. Rigid, knotty muscles are rarely to be seen in ordinary people, and even in acrobats and professed wrestlers they are generally ill-shown. A big stout man is always a fat man, never a muscular one ; and in the vernaculars of the country, the two are indicated by the same term. It is not to be expected, therefore, that muscular forms should be represented in a prominent manner in sculpture. As justly observed by Dr. Lübke, "Art can only attain to her highest aim in such epochs and among such nations as universally recognise the beauty of the human form, in which it is promoted by natural capacity and favorable conditions of climate, in which it is developed by uniform exercise; and in which, lastly, the perfection of mind and body is equally cultivated".[40] In Bengal and Orissa, all these conditions are wanting ; the climate is not only not favourable to exercise and development, but it induces a habit of indolent, sluggish, passive state of life, in which one would rather see a dance while seated at ease than dance himself ; and that dance is more liked which consists of a series of gentle posture-making than that which is an exuberant display of energy as in Europe. The food of the people, also, is not only ill-calculated to develop the muscles, but it is exactly what is most favourable to cover the body with a supple coating of fat. In the North-Western Provinces, the people are taller, handsomer, and of better physique generally, but milk, *ghi*, and butter, being very largely used, and the climate for many months in the year being unfavourable to hard out-door exercise, their muscles are usually covered by a coating of fatty matter, and they fail to produce that

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arms of Śakuntalā, is due to the ignorance of the appearance of a banana stem, and therefore calls for no remark. It may, nevertheless, be a matter of enquiry to many Indians if the "network of muscles and sinews" did, or did not, "disappear beneath the veil of soft voluptuousness" on the arms of the Venus de Medici ?

40. *History of Sculpture*, I, p. 4.

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idea of strength which prominent muscles are calculated to do. Egyptian sculptures are, also, sadly deficient in this respect, and it may be a question as to how far the defect there is due to ethnic peculiarities. It should be added, however, that in those Orissan figures which are represented as undergoing violent exertion, or bearing heavy weights, as in the dwarf under the architrave in Illustration No. 7, the circumstance is indicated as much by appropriate attitudes and positions as by rigid and swelling muscles displayed in a high state of tension. This cannot at all be predicated of Egyptian art.

Head : The form of the head in Orissa is generally oval, and the features are natural. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, the top of the cranium of a well-formed head should be rounded like an umbrella, a flat one bespeaking poverty, and one like the bottom of a pitcher a worthless character ;[41] and this rule is very closely followed by Indian artists. The crown is generally high, though owing to the top-knot and other ornaments on the head, it is impossible to measure exactly whether the height from the upper line of the forehead to the top of the crown would equal one-fourth of the face. The hair is soft and flowing, and always chiselled with great care. It is never curly or shaped into rounded buttons, as on the heads of Buddhist statues and Assyrian sculptures. Of the various ways in which the hair is dressed, detailed descriptions will appear under the head of coiffure.

Forehead : According to the authority quoted above, men with low foreheads are always prone to cruel acts, and fit only to be exterminated. Very high protuberant foreheads are equally condemned ;[42] in women especially so. A woman, who has a high protuberant forehead and serrated teeth, is sure, says an old adage, to lose her husband on the night of her wedding.[43] Nevertheless the leaning is in favor of high foreheads. According to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, a forehead of medium size, somewhat protuberant, and shaped like a half moon, the upper arch being formed by the hair of the head, and the lower by the eyebrows, is the most appropriate.[44] The *Sāmudrika* is not satisfied with this, and expresses its liking for a good, broad, prominent forehead, condemning the narrow-headed to an early

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41. chatrākāraiḥ śirobhistu nṛpā nimnaśirā dhanī /
cipiṭaiśca piturmṛtyurgavādyāḥ parimaṇḍalaiḥ //
ghaṭamūrdhvā pāparucirghanādyaiḥ parivarjitaḥ /
iti *Gāruḍe* 36 Adhyāyaḥ //

42. unnatairvipulaiḥ śaṅkhairlalāṭairviṣamaistathā /
nirdhanā dhanavantaśca ardhendusadṛśairnarāḥ //
ācāryāh śuktiviśālaiḥ śirālaiḥ pāpakāriṇaḥ /
unnatābhiḥ śirābhistu svastikābhirdhaneśvarāḥ //
nimnairlalāṭairbadhārhāḥ krūrakarmaratāstathā /
saṃvṛtaiśca lalāṭaiśca kṛpaṇā unnatairnṛpāḥ //

43. uñckapālī ciraṇdāñtī / bier rāte khābe pati //

44. na pṛthu vālendunibhe bhruvau cātha lalāṭakaṃ /
śubhamardhendusaṃsthānamuttuṅgaṃ syādalomaśam //
iti *Gāruḍe* 65 Adhyāyaḥ //

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death.[45] In men of mature age a high broad forehead, is generally preferred, and this is what is common in sculpture, both for men and women; and in ordinary Uriyā life, this is not unoften heightened by the hair being combed backward, so as to expose the roots of the frontal hair, i.e., in the "Alexandrine style", which Plutarch characterises by the words, *anastolentes Komes* or "a pushing back of the hair". Neither the *tenui fronte* of Horace, which the old commentators explain to be "a narrow and small forehead which is usually commended in a beautiful form" [46] nor the *frons brevis* of Martial, has a place in any of the more finished statues of Orissa. The arching of the [59] reflexed hair above the forehead, help to improve the oval form of the face; and the advantage of it may be perceived by comparing it with heads, in which the hair is allowed to hang in front and cause the face to appear rounded.

Eyebrows: Ordinarily no eyebrows are chiselled in the larger statues, but where they are shown, they are generally arched so as to represent a bow, and so drawn out as to appear the front co-extensive with the ears. They are also joined at the root of the nose, a point of beauty which though praised by Theocritus, and attributed to Ulysses, Brisois, Augustus, Julia, daughter of Titus, and others, was never generally approved, and a Greek epigram takes it to be an indication of pride and bitterness of spirit. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* condemns it sharply. The rule on the subject of eyebrow is thus laid down in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*: eyebrows, "when high and thick, predicate a life of enjoyment; when uneven or shaped like the sacrificial sword (*Khāṇḍā*), poverty; when long and unconnected with each other, affluence: good eyebrows are high and (arched) like the new moon".[47] And the *Sāmudrika* copies it almost literally.

Eyes: The shape and expression of the eyes constitute by far the most essential elements in the beauty of the human face, and much has been written by Sanskrit authors on the subject. According to the *Sāmudrika*, "red eyes indicate affluence; feline eyes, anger; like those of the cock, great capacity for work; like those of the deer, beauty; like those of cats and geese, vile character; like those of peacocks, mediocrity; like those of dogs, or of a tawny colour, a disposition to cruel acts; like those of oxen, uniform prosperity; and squint eyes, a wicked intriguing disposition". [48] Of these, for purpose of poetry, the "deer-eye" and the "ox-eye", the *Boopis* of Homer, are

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45. vipule ca lalāṭe ca dhanāḍhyo jāyate mahān //
alpe cāpi lalāṭe tu svalpāyurjāyate naraḥ /
unnatena lalāṭena dhanāḍhyo jāyate naraḥ //

46. Angusta et parva fronte, quod in pulchritudinis forma commendari solet. Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art*, p. 200.

47. viśālonnatā sukhinī daridrā viṣamabhruvaḥ /
dhanī dīrghā saṃsaktabhrūrbālendūnnatasubhruvaḥ //
āḍhyā nisvaśca khaḍgabhrūrmadhyāśca vinatabhruvaḥ /
iti *Gāruḍe* 66 Adhyāyaḥ //

48. *Sāmudrikaḥ*, 68-70.

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the most important; but that peculiar liquidity, bespeaking modesty and lovely grace, which make the eye of the gazelle so frequently the subject of comparison in Eastern poetry is not attainable by the plastic art, and the ox-eye is equally beyond her province, unless the *Bous* of the compound term be taken as a prefix implying largeness.[49] In sculpture the eye is generally made large—often larger than living models would justify; and of the shape of the almond with the greater curvature lying on the upper side, and the lower eyelid forming almost a straight line. In maidens and young women, the upper lid hangs down and gives an amorous, languishing look. As the province of sculpture is not to indicate colour, no attempt has been made in large statues to indicate the iris or the pupils; but in bas-reliefs and metal figures, a circle is often drawn for the former and a dot for the latter, to indicate the light. The position of the eyes is longitudinal, never oblique, as in Egypt and archaic Grecian statues.[50] The interocular space is sometimes, but not always, less than the length of an eye, and the eyebrows are not in sufficient relief. Nowhere, however, is the gross error committed of giving a full eye to a profile face, an error so universal in Egypt. In bas-reliefs, the face assumes different positions from a perfect profile to a full face and the shape of the eye is regulated according to the position of the face, showing in this respect a much superior knowledge of art, than what the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptors evinced.

Chin, lips and mouth: The chin is never so pointed as in the Daedalian school of Greece, and the lips are never so thin and skinny. The opening of the mouth is small and in excellent keeping with the face. A forced smile in the female face is common; in one instance, that of a nude female in the Rājarāṇī temple, standing with the left hand across the breast, and the right in front of the body lower down, in the attitude of the Venus de Medici the idea of modesty which the classic artist so beautifully portrayed, has been entirely dissipated by this unbecoming simper. The classic artist, also, left to the imagination to find out the cause of

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49. The epithet has puzzled the commentators sorely. Lord Derby translates it into "stag-eyed". Others, I learn from Professor Tawney, have rendered it into "large-eyed", "round-eyed", "beautiful-faced", "exceedingly-well-shaped", "good-looking", "cow-faced", "cow-eyed", &c. The reference to the cow is accounted for on the supposition of Io being the moon, "changed by Hera into a cow, the usual symbol of the horned moon. The ordinarily received meaning is "large", The *Lalita-vistara*, however, gives a clue to its true signification. Among the thirty-two signs of greatness which marked the person of Śākya it reckons "eyes deeply black like the eyelash and eye of a cow", (*Go-pakṣma-netrābhinīla-netra*), which has been translated by Mr. Foucaux from the Tibetan into "L'oeil grand, blanc et noir". This is exactly equal to the term *melanophthalmos* which Didymus, the scholiast of Homer, gives, as one of his alternative meanings. It is the blackness of the goddess' eyes which Homer praised, and not their size or roundness.

50. It should be noted, however, that a belief existed among the people of Bengal that the oblique eye is a peculiarity of the gods.

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the position of his figure, whereas the less poetic Uriyā has introduced a grinning boy at the foot of the statue to explain its meaning and thereby given to the whole a most indecent expression. The statue is perfectly insulated, and, but for its standing on both feet resting flat on the ground, could have been taken for a copy of the Medicean goddess. General Cunningham met with a somewhat similar statue at Mathurā ; but its right hand does not extend sufficiently low, and it has some drapery and a great deal of ornament on its person. The general describes it thus : " The most remarkable piece of sculpture is that of a **[60]** female of rather more than half life-size. The figure is naked, save a girdle of beads round the waist, the same as is seen in the Bhilsā sculptures and Ajantā paintings. The attitude and the positions of the hands are similar to those of the famous statue of Venus of the Capitol. But in the Mathurā statue, the left hand is brought across the right breast, while the right holds up a small portion of drapery. The head is slightly inclined towards the right shoulder, and the hair is dressed in a new and peculiar manner, with long curls on each side of the face, which fall from a large circular ornament on the top of the head. The back of the figure is supported by a thick cluster of lotus stalks covered with buds and flowers, which are very gracefully arranged, and boldly executed. The plump face with its broad smile is the least satisfactory part of the work. Altogether this statue is one of the best specimens of Indian art that I have met with. I presume that it represents a dancing girl ". [51] This smile, however, is not universal ; and in the more finished specimens of work there is a great deal of expression and adaptation of the face appropriate to the subject intended to be expressed. In this respect the Uriyā artists, again, excel the sculptors of Egypt and Assyria, as well as those of ancient Greece. " The selfsame face and expression, alike in mourning or in jubilee, in every condition of life, so that a king differs not in the least from the peasant at the plough ", so characteristic of Egyptian sculpture, is far from being prevalent in Orissa, though to a certain, and on the whole a very small, extent, it has not been prevented in minor figures. There is also in them more energy, more action, and altogether more life and feeling than are to be met with in the statues of Egypt.

Nose and ears : In ancient Sanskrit poetry, the nose is usually compared with the flower of the sesamum, or the bill of the parrot, which would imply that the arched Roman nose, or a *nez aquilin*, was at the time reckoned the most beautiful ; but in sculpture this is rarely met with. In the figures of gods and goddesses, the Hellenic nose running down in almost a straight line with the forehead, and forming a perfect Grecian profile, is the most common ; but in human figures a slight depression at the root is ordinarily observable. In Egyptian figures the nose is always depressed. The ears are of the same size as the nose, and stand in a line with it.

Nationality : The features are throughout Hindu of the Bengal type. There is nothing in any of the details, in the eyes, the nose, the cheek-bones, and the forehead,—those features where ethnic peculiarities are best indicated—to show a trace of aboriginal Tamilian characteristics ; and this circumstance may be taken as a strong proof in favour

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51. Archaeological Survey of India, *Report* for 1862-63, I, p. 240.

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of the Indo-Aryan origin of the works. Had the temples and their decorations proceeded from Dravidian artists, their character would have been entirely different. Even English painters of the present day, at least such as come to Calcutta, but too often give a European character to the native portraits they paint ; and it is but natural to suppose that South Indian artists, had they been employed on the Orissan temples would have given them a strong Tamilian cast.

Pose : The most approved position for gods is standing on both legs, embodying the idea of firmness and dignity : for goddesses, the same, but resting on the leftfoot, the right leg crossing the left, and touching the ground by the ends of the toes. For Kṛṣṇa this feminine position is the most approved, with three bends in the body (*tribhaṅga*), the first caused by the crossing of the legs, the second by a curvature at the waist, and the third by an inclination of the head to one side, generally the left. This is esteemed the most amatory and graceful, and dancing girls are often represented with these, or similar, bends. The Greeks took this position to be indicative of frolicsome youth and effeminacy, and assigned it only to Apollo, Bacchus and Mercury, censuring it, like the Hindus, in grave subjects.[52] For the different manifestations of Durgā this style of *tribhaṅga* is never tolerated, the myths on which they are founded requiring vigorous action. Such is also the case with some forms of the fierce god Rudra ; and the figures of that divinity are often represented in positions and attitudes expressive of violent agitation. When, however, Śiva appears in the company of his consort, the lady is placed on the lap of her husband, and the attitude adopted is one of easy grace and enjoyment. In the case of seated single figures of goddesses the usual position is that of squatting on a bench or chair, with one foot hanging down, or resting on a stool or a lotus. Ordinary women of quality appear squatting with the legs crossed. This is, however, far from being a general rule, and the pose is regulated by the nature of the subject, and by the place where they are located. Standing on one or both legs ; leaning forward, or backward, or to one side ; dancing, running, leaping, sitting straight, or reclining on a pillow, are positions of common occurrence ; but on the whole vigorous manifestations of active energetic action are less frequent, and those of an idle enjoyment of life predominate. "In harmony with this, we find full swelling luxurious softness of forms, and easy carelessness of attitude."[53] The nature of the Indian climate and its action on the mind and body of man to which references have already been made is sufficient to account for this, without any recourse to the dreaminess of Indian philosophy and religions to [61] which European authors are so apt to refer everything Indian. The temper of nations, the outcome of the climate they live in, is a much more potent influence in such cases than religion, which itself is governed and moulded by it. It controls alike their aspirations in a future world as well as in this. The Valhalla of the Scandinavians, the Paradise of Muhammad, and the Indra's heaven of the Hindus, are all manifestations of climatic influences on the mind of man. And such influences are all-powerful on ordinary life and enjoyment. In northern climes, where active exertion is a

52. Winkelmann's *History of Ancient Art*, p. 160.
53. Lübke's *History of Art*, I, p. 86.

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sine qua non of existence, wrestling, hunting, and fighting, games involving violent exertion, and scenes depicting warfare are the most delightful. The highest effort of the poet is directed to war-songs, the noblest form of the dramatic art is tragic, and some of the finest specimens of the pictorial and plastic art exhibit the most stirring scenes of life. In India, on the other hand, the heat and enervating action of the climate for nine months in the year, render all exertion unpleasant, and life must, therefore, be more tranquil and seasoned with easy enjoyment. Music and singing and chess constitute the means of amusement ; poetry sings of love ; and the drama prohibits the exhibition of tragic scenes on the stage. It is but natural, therefore, that art here should take an easy, soft, voluptuous tone, very different from that which is most gratifying in high latitudes. In the early states of Indian society, when the Aryans had not yet lost their trans-Himalayan energy and vigour, the heroic in art and literature readily recommended itself to them, but in the seventh century of the Christian era, on the sea-board of Orissa, the case was otherwise.

Group : There is also a propriety in the proportion of the different figures of a group in Orissa which we look for in vain in Egypt. Except under peculiar circumstances, such as that of fitting in a narrow tall niche a group which requires more breadth than height, or in representations of attendants on gods where the attention of the beholder has to be concentrated exclusively on the principal figure, the enormity is never committed, as in the land of the Pharaohs of making the king many times larger than his attendants. The relation to each other of the different individuals of a group In close union, or in a long procession, or in a narrative scene,—i.e., of the individual to the community,—has been to a great extent borne in mind, and perspective is everywhere attempted to be preserved, though not always successfully. Of four-footed furniture the hind legs are always shown, and receding lines and angles follow to a certain though small, extent the laws of perspective.

Drapery : In the delineation of drapery, Orissan artists have also displayed much greater proficiency than those of the ancient schools with whom I have hitherto compared them. The Egyptians were, as already shown, the most defective in this respect. Anything like a graceful fold is nowhere to be met with in their works. The most colossal figures of sovereigns and other great men, such as that of Asymandyas at Thebes, appear all but nude, having nothing more on their persons in the way of dress than a strip of cloth round the waist reaching a little below the middle of the thigh. On many females of rank a line across the legs and another near the neck indicate the limit of the dress, but its texture is nowhere else visible, and the figures, to all intents and purposes, are naked. The tunics on soldiers are indicated by two oblique lines on the sides, but nothing like a fold appears anywhere. The sculptures of Assyria are equally defective in this respect, though the ornamentation on their cloth is more carefully shown than in Egypt. The most ancient specimens of Greek art are in this respect no better. Taking, for instance, sculptures in the temple at Assos, now in the Museum of the Louvre in Paris, or the Metope from Selinus, representing Perseus and Medusa, now in the Museum at Palermo, or the seated figure of Minerva found at Athens and preserved at the Acropolis, or the statues from Miletus, now in the British Museum, the drapery appears, in a rude symbolical style,

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without any attempt at imitation of natural folds. If the object of drapery be "not fully to conceal the body, nor to disfigure its outline and structure, but to harmonise in its folds with the form and organization of the body, and with the grace of its movements, clinging to it and receiving from it, its law, just as in music the instrumental accompaniment follows the melody which the human voice gives forth",—in short, if it be intended as an adornment, and not a cloak, all the three nations named, viz., the Egyptians, Assyrians, and the Greeks of the 6th century B. C., failed to employ it in its true character. Orissan artists, on the other hand, worked differently, and took considerable pains in most of their more finished works to display the folds of dress with every regard to nature ; and the success they attained in this branch of art was not small. The folds of the turban, the movement in the floating ends of the *cādar* or hymation, the plaited fronts of the *dhuti*, or *koñcā*, the folds of skirts of tunics and *jāmā*, as also the wrinkling of cloth tied round the waist, and of sleeves, are all delineated with care, and bespeak an artistic knowledge and capacity in many respects superior to those of the ancient schools.

Relative proportions : In the formation of the idols of gods the proportions laid down in the *Śilpa Śāstra* seem to have been generally, but neither invariably nor very strictly, observed. According to the *Mānasāra*, the entire length of a figure from the crown to the heels should be divided into a hundred and one [62] parts,[54] and these are taken as the units of measure by which the proportions of the other parts of the composition should be regulated. The thighs, according to this authority "should measure two heads, or twice twelve parts in length. The knee-caps should be of the same size as the ears, and the legs equal to the thighs. The foot should be as high as the knee-caps, and slightly arched. Its length from the heel to the end of the great toe should be sixteen instants. The arm of twenty-four instants is reckoned the most appropriate. The elbow should measure two instants, and the forearm eighteen fingers. The hand to the end of the middle finger should be ten instants. The face should include eleven parts, and the neck four parts, or the same as the shoulder from the root of the arm or the expanse of the knee. The upper extremity should measure thirty-six fingers. Twenty instants for the chest from axilla to axilla is the most appropriate ; and fifteen for the waist before the navel. The expanse of the hip should be thrice seven instants ; and of the waist above it nineteen. The *upamūla* (?) should be twelve instants wide ; the hip-joint ten and-a-half, and the top of the legs seven and-a-half ; its middle six, which will be continuous for four instants ; and its lower end three and-a-half. The heel should be four and-a-half fingers. The foot should measure eleven instants. The forepart of the foot should be five instants, but the part along the great toe,

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54. The tern used is *tāra* or *tāla*, i.e. an instant, it being borrowed from the measure of time in music, very much in the same way in which European artists use the word *minute* for a similar purpose, and reckon the size of particular members of the body by so many heads, parts, and minutes. The word *aṅgula*, or the breadth of the thumb, is apparently employed as an equivalent of *tāla*, but to prevent misapprehension I have, in the paraphrase given above, used the word 'finger' ; a literal translation is scarcely needed.

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should be four instants ; the toe itself should be two instants long, and the nail half an instant wide ; the second toe should be as long as the first ; the third, fourth, and fifth, should successively be three, two and-a-half, and two instants, respectively, or seven, six, and five barley corns, and the nails halves thereof. The middle of the arm should be seven instants, as also the elbow. The mid-forearm should be four instants, and the wrist three instants. The expanse of the palm at the beginning should be six fingers, and its end five fingers, the length of the palm should be six fingers. The middle finger should, likewise, be six fingers long, and the two on its two sides five and-a-half fingers each. The thumb and the little finger should not exceed half the length of the middle finger. Six barley-corns, seven barley-corns, and six barley-corns, should be the thicknesses of the thumb and the fingers respectively."[55]

The measurements may be thus tabulated :—

	Instants	*Decimals*		*Instants*	*Decimals*
Total length	101	1·000	Neck	4	0·039
Thigh	24	0·237	Shoulder	4	0·039
Leg	24	0·237	Upper extremity	36	0·356
Foot	16	0·158	Chest (width)	20	0·198
Arm	24	0·237	Waist (ditto)	15	0·148
Elbow	2	0·019	Hip, upper part (ditto)	19	0·188
Forearm	18	0·178	Hip, lower part (ditto)	21	0·207
Hand	10	0·099	Hip, joint (ditto)	10½	0·103
Face	11	0·108	Leg, breadth	7½	0·074
[63]					
Leg, middle	6	0·059	Elbow	7	0·068
Leg, lower end	3½	0·034	Forearm, middle	4	0·039
Heel	4½	0·044	Wrist	3	0·029
Foot	11	0·108	Palm, breadth (beginning)	6	0·059
Great toe from metatarsus	4	0·039	Ditto, (end)	5	0·049
Great toe	2	0·019	Ditto, length	6	0·059
Second toe	4	0·039	Middle finger	6	0·059
Third toe	3	0·029	Index finger	5½	0·054
Fourth toe	2½	0·024	Ring finger	5½	0·054
Fifth toe	2	0·019	Little finger	3	0·029
Arm, middle	7	0·068	Thumb	3	0·029

The limits of the different members noticed not being given, the definitions of some of these measurements are not clear, but as far as they are intelligible and definable, they show that the measures given are fair averages of the human body, except in the length of

55. *Mānasāra*, Chapter 66 ; Asiatic Society's MSS. No. 59.

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the arm which appears to be excessive, and this, I strongly suspect, is due to an error in the MS. of the *Mānasāra,*—a very corrupt one,—I have at hand to consult; as it does not correspond with the total length of the upper extremity subsequently given. It might, however, be the measure of the perfect upper extremity reaching as low as the knee, which according to one of the occult sciences ensures to its possessor universal sovereignty; the subsequent measure being ordinary. The palm of the hand, the thumb, and the index and the little fingers are also made a little shorter than they should be. These rules regarding the arm and the finger are, however, except in the case of a few Buddhist statues, never strictly followed; and even as regards them, the adherence to the rules is far from being universal. A large copper statue found at Sultanganj and now deposited in the Manchester Museum, is the most longimanous of its kind, but it has not its arms quite so long as described in the *Śilpa Śāstra.*

Its dimensions are :—	ft.	in.
From the top-knot on the crown of the head, along the back to the edge of the heel.	7	3
From ditto, along the front to the sole of the foot under the instep.	7	6
Round the head.	2	0
Top-knot.	0	3
From bottom of top-knot to forehead.	0	2·125
Length of face from forehead to chin.	0	10
From chin down to waist.	2	0
From waist to sole of foot.	4	0
Round the breast.	6	7
Across the shoulders.	2	4
From shoulder-joint to elbow.	1	6
From elbow to wrist.	1	0
From wrist to end of middle finger.	1	0
Foot, from heel to end of second toe.	1	0·5

'The above measurements were taken with a common tape without any reference to the principle followed by artists in the calculation of the relative proportions of the different parts of the human figure. They disclose, however, some curious facts: thus, omitting the top-knot formed of a collection of hair on the crown of the head, we find that the total length of the figure (7 feet) is to the head (12½ inches), as 6·72 to 1 or in the language of artists 6 heads, 3 parts, 9 minutes, instead of the usual standard of 8 to 1, and also considerably under that of the antique statues. In the Hercules, the Apollo, and the Laocoon, the length of the body varies from 7 heads, 2 parts, 3 minutes to 7 heads, 3 parts, 7 minutes. The tallest statue known is that of Mirmillo, and it measures 8 heads. The length of the fathom, again, which, in Europe is reckoned to be the same as the height, is in our statue fully one-third more. This is owing, no doubt, to the belief common in India that the simian peculiarity of the hands reaching down to the knees is an emblem of divinity and universal sovereignty. It is worthy of note, however, that in a table published by Dr. Emil Schlagintweit in his recent work on Tibetan Buddhism, the fathom of Brāhmaṇs of Upper

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India is represented to be greater than the length of their body, and the Bhots have the same peculiarity in a greater degree. It is remarkable also that the latter make Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have shorter fathoms than their [64] genii and dragsheds. The increase in the fathom is effected by an inordinate prolongation of the hands, leaving the arm and forearm less than their natural proportions as compared to those of Indian Brāhmaṇs, of Bhots, and of Bhotanese idols ; but somewhat longer than the European standard of 1 head, 2 parts, and 3 minutes to the arm, and 1 head, 1 part, and 2 minutes to the forearm. The foot, according to modern artists, should be one-sixth of the body, but in the statue this has been exceeded by a few minutes. The torso is slightly shorter than the Grecian standard. The artist had evidently adopted the tall North Indian, and not the squat Bhot for his model.'[56] The proportions of Kārtikeya in the Great Tower are as follows :—

	Ft	In	Decimals.
Total length	6	0	1·000
From crown to navel	2	4	0·388
Ditto to pubes	2	10	0·472
From pubes to heel	3	-2	0·527
From navel to heel	3	8	0·611
Leg, knee to heel	1	8	0·277
Foot	0	11	0·152
Knee to hip, (trochanter)	1	8	0·277
Face	0	11	0·152
Breast, shoulder to shoulder	2	4	0·388
Arm	0	6	0·083
Neck	0	2½	0·034

Putting the rule of the *Mānasāra*, and the proportions of the Sultānganj Buddha and the Bhuvaneśvara Kārtikeya by the side of a table published in Mr. Emil Schlagintweit's work on Buddhism, I have the following :—

	Rule in *Mānas-āra*	Kārtikeya at Bhuva-neśvara	Buddha from Sultān-ganj	Brāhmaṇs of Upper India		Bhots	Buddhas, Bodhi-sattvas of Tibet	Dragsheds Genii, Lamas of Tibet
Total height	1·000	1·000	1·000	1·000	1·000		1·000	1·000
Head	0·108	0·152	0·119	0·145	0·149		0·166	0·160
Periphery round the forehead	...	...	0·285	0·322	0·345		0·350	0·420
Length of fathom	...	...	1·342	1·025	1·069		1·080	1·117
Do. Arm	0·237	0·250	0·214	0·433	0·451		0·449	0·430
Do. Forearm	0·178	...	0·142	0·165	0·164		0·149	0·155
Do. Hand	0·118	...	0·142	0·107	0·110		0·110	0·110
Do. Foot	0·108	0·152	0·148	0·144	0·145		0·140	0·144

56. Author's paper on 'The Buddhist Remains of Sultānganj' in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXX.

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The disparities observable under the different heads of the above are so great that I cannot in any way reconcile them. It should be noticed, however, that even in classic art the disparities are also glaring. Bearing also in mind the caprice of nature and of artists, the changes which the human form undergoes from infancy to old age, and in different nationalities, climates, habits, and professions, as also the exigencies of art, it must be admitted that such measurements cannot be fixed by any ideal standard, nor can any deduction of material importance be drawn from them. This much, however, may be said that the human figures appear generally to be well proportioned; their hands and feet are small, the arms are in keeping with the body, and the lower limbs are divested of the great length so ungainly and peculiar to the aboriginal form. In several figures which I have measured, the feet are, all but exactly, one-sixth of the body, and the hand two-fifteenths. The feminine hands are generally very small, and the fingers light and taper. In human statues the second toe is in many instances somewhat longer than the great toe.

Relief : The great bulk of the sculptures in Orissa are in low relief, showing from one-eighth to one-fourth of the round. Some are in high relief or *alti-rilievi*, representing more than three-fourths of the round attached to a background ; while a few are entirely round. Most of the figures of gods are of the last description. On friezes the nature and exigencies of architecture do not admit of other than *bassi-rilievi*, the highest [65] parts of the different figures being on one level ; but in niches both attached and isolated figures are arranged on different levels and heights, so as to secure such a distribution of light and shade as to produce some amount of aerial perspective. This trait bespeaks of a considerable advance in the theory and practice of the plastic art, which the Egyptians and the Assyrians never reached. Among the Greeks too, says Dr. Lübke, " the relief is restricted to one uniform level, and to the representation of only two figures side by side ".[57]

Colour : In figures of gods and goddesses, in Orissa, as well as in other parts of India, the eyes, eyebrows, and sometimes the lips, are the parts which are generally painted ; the colour of the rest of the body being left to be represented by that of the material of which the figures are made. In metallic figures painting is also limited to the same extent ; but in wooden statues the whole is very thickly painted, or gilt, so as entirely to cover the original material. To what extent this rule was followed in the setting off of ornamental sculpture, it is impossible now to determine. A *basso-rilievo* horseman in the Dancing Hall of the Great Tower at Bhuvaneśvara is painted all over, so are some figures in the Dancing Hall of the Puri Temple. But with those exceptions, there is nothing to show that the lavish profusion of sculptured ornaments which are to be met with in every part of Orissa, ever had any painting on them. I carefully examined every nook and cranny—the deepest recesses of niches to find traces of pigments, but found none ; and the surfaces of finished statues, whether placed indoors or on the outside, bear no mark of ever having been painted. It may be presumed, therefore, that architectural and

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57. *History of Sculpture*, I, p. 3.

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ornamental sculptures were not set off with paint. It should be added, however, that the bulk of those sculptures have been exposed to tropical rains for near twelve hundred years, and it is futile now to expect any trace of paint on them even if they ever had any.

Obscenity : In describing the merits of Orissan art I must not forget to notice the despicable taste which the artists have displayd by making some of their figures most disgustingly obscene. By this I do not refer to their nudity, for, as justly observed by professor Lübke, "the task of sculpture is to conceive man in the full natural beauty. Hence the nude figure in its strictest sense is required. The perfect harmony and beauty of the whole can only be displayed in the unclothed form". This canon has been more or less accepted by artists and men of taste in every age and clime, and the Uriyās have rather evinced a true sense of the proper sphere of sculpture by chiselling the nude, and not thereby given offence to good taste.[58] But they have added thereto certain licentious representations which do not admit of description. Their number is small, and they by no means enter into the general scheme of ornamentation of the temples ; but there they are ; and their existence cannot but offer a violent shock to all modern sense of propriety and decency. I enquired of many learned pandits at Puri, as to why such offensive figures had been allowed to desecrate the sanctuary of the Divinity ; but they could tell me nothing worth hearing. In one instance obscenity in a temple has been accounted for on the supposition of its being expiatory. In a note on Kajraha with reference to Rashiduddīn's mention of that town, Sir Henry Elliot states that "in the *Prithvirāj Rāyasā* mention is made of a Brāhmaṇ woman, Hemavatī by name, who had committed a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and, as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Bāṇḍā jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world".[59] The story occurs in the Ist Canto of the Benares MS. of Cānd, and in Mr. Growse's translation of it,[60] mention is made of the Bhāṇḍava sacrifice, but without any allusion to indecent representations on temples, and I can nowhere find a description of the ceremony in any Sanskrit work. Possibly there may be some authority for it, and the obscenity on Hemavatī's temple at Khārjinpur or Kajraha might be accounted for on the supposition that she wished to expiate her fault by a disgustingly public confession. But it is scarcely to be supposed that all the principal sculptured temples of Orissa owe their indecent ornaments to a like cause, and I am disposed to think that the explanation is more ingenious than true. It is much more probable that the indecent figures on the old Central Indian temples were due to the same cause which produced them in Orissa. What that cause was, it is difficult now to say with

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58. If of the two Venuses by Praxiteles, the originator and great master of the sensuous style of rich voluptuous beauty, the citizens of Oxus decided to take the draped figure, as the more modest of the two, the people of Cnidos refused to give up the nude one, the renowned Cnidian Venus even to ransom their city from foreign conquerors.

59. *Muhammadan Historians*, I.

60. *Journal* As. Soc. XXXVII, Pt. I, p. 121.

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perfect certainty. A vitiated taste aided by general prevalence of immorality might, at first sight appear to be the most likely one ; but I cannot believe that libidinousness, however depraved, would even think of selecting fanes dedicated to the worship of God, as the most appropriate for its manifestation ; for it is worthy of remark that they occur almost exclusively on temples and their attached porches, and never on enclosing walls, gateways, and other non-religious structures. " Our ideas of propriety ", according to Voltaire, " lead us to suppose that a ceremony " (like the worship of Priapus), " which appears to us so infamous, could only be invented by licentiousness ; but [66] it is impossible to believe that depravity of manners would ever have led among any people to the establishment of religious ceremonies. It is probable, on the contrary, that this custom was first introduced in times of simplicity, that the first thought was to honor the deity in the symbol of life which it has given us ; such a ceremony may have excited licentiousness among youths, and have appeared ridiculous to men of education in more refined, more corrupt, and more enlightened times ", but it never has its origin in such feelings. Besides, vicious propensities have, in India, been everywhere and at all times most emphatically denounced, and there is no creed known in this country which does not condemn it as hateful. It is out of the question, therefore, to suppose that a general prevalence of vice would of itself, without the authority of priests and scriptures, suffice to lead to the defilement of holy temples. A religious sanction for it must be sought, and this, I believe, occurs in the fact of most of the temples on which the offensive figures are shown being dedicated to the mystical adoration of the phallic emblem. From a very early period in the history of religion, the phallic element has held a prominent place in the mind of man. Most of the leading religions of the ancient world—the Egyptian, the Chaldean, the Assyrian, and the Mosaic—manifested it in some form or other ; and in primitive unsophisticated states of society, when philosophical conceptions of the mystery of generation " had not yet given to the various parts and members of the human body, those names which constitute the special vocabulary of obscenity of the present day, many symbols and representations were not only held inoffensive, but sacred ", and their presence on ancient monuments, therefore, cannot be a matter of surprise. According to Dulaure the symbolic figure carried in procession during the festival of Osiris and Isis, (*īśvara*= Śiva, and his consort īśā) was a representation of the phallus of the bull.[61] In the *Old Testament*, allusion is made to Jewish women manufacturing phalli of gold and of silver. [62] In an interesting memoir on the worship of Śiva in Europe in former times, Professor Holmboe cites an extract from an ancient history of King St. Olaf, who introduced Christianity in Norway, in which mention is made of a pagan family residing in the province of Nordland, " qui adorait le linga d'un cheval, qu' on avait tué, mais dont on avait conservé le veretrum. Les soirs cette piece passait de main en main non seulement parmi les personnes de la famille, mais encore parmi les hotes qui pussent

61. Dulaure's *Histoire abregée de differens Cultes*, II. 32.

62. *Ezekiel*, XVI. 17.

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etre presents, chaqu 'un récitait un verset en délivrant l'idole a un autre".[63] In one of the apartments of the great palace at Karnak, there are several figures representing "une offrande d'un heros Egyptien a la grande divinité de Thébes au Dieu regénérateur caractérisé par le membre viril en érection,"[64] and these are repeated in the interior of its great granite Propylon and other places. In obscenity they are scarcely inferior to the works of the Uriyā artists.

These and innumerable other instances which could be easily multiplied, were it worth while, suggest the conclusion that the public exhibition of the phallus in the early ages had nothing in it which partook of indecency. "All ideas connected with it were of a reverential kind. When Abraham, as mentioned in *Genesis*, in asking his servant to take a solemn oath, makes him lay his hand 'under his thigh', it was that he required as a token of his sincerity his placing his hand on the most revered part of his body; as, at the present day, a man would place his hand on his heart in order to evince his sincerity. Jacob, when dying, makes his son Joseph perform the same act. A similar custom is still retained among the Arabs. An Arab, in taking a solemn oath, will place his hand on his *membrum virile* in attestation of his sincerity."[65] Thousands upon thousands of Hindus—men, women, and children—visit the Orissan temples every year; they undertake long and tedious journeys in the most inclement of Indian seasons; undergo the greatest privations, to have a sight of them; and return home with the firmest conviction that they have by the pilgrimage freed themselves of all their sins, without even indulging in the merest shadow of an idea, that there is anything improper or indecorous in all that they have seen. The whole to them is a mystery—a mystery of ancient times hallowed by age and enveloped in everything that is pure and holy,—and none attempts to lift the veil, and pry into secrets, or their causes, which his ancestors for centuries left untouched. You may point out the offensive character of the representations before him, and create a cloud of anxiety and uneasiness in his mind, but it is only a passing cloud that soon melts away before the fervour of his faith.

Looking to these facts I am induced to believe that the offensive figures are due to a desire to typify religious idea, and not to an inherent vicious taste in the artists[66] or

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63. *Journal* As. Soc. XXXVI, p. 182.

64. *Description de l' Egypte*, Vol. III, Plates 36 and 47.

65. *Journal of Anthropology*, No. I, July 1870, p. cxl.

66. By this remark it is not at all my wish altogether to exonerate the artists from some pruriency of imagination. Few artists of note have been above it. Even the renowned Phidias succumbed to it when he carved nude females resting in a pronate position on supine youths on the throne of his glorious Olympian Jupiter—a work of art, which according to the Stoic Epictetus, "it was still considered a misforture for any of his contemporaries to die without having seen". What the figures represented is not positively known. According to Pausánias they were Sphinxes seizing Theban youths; others took them to be Hercules and Theseus fighting with Amazons; but whatever they might have been, they were certainly not in very decent positions.

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their employers. It was not "to incite, excite, or gratify the lower feelings of the public", "to lower art to unworthy purposes by objectionable representations", but to symbolize a religious idea, [**67**] that the offensive sculptures were carved ; and this was done without any perception of their offensive character. This is the more apparent in the circumstance of all the ornaments being chaste, and their disposition thoroughly artistic. Tendrils and young leaves, flowers and fruits, pretty birds and pet animals, young children and youthful maidens,—the most graceful objects in nature,—have everywhere been selected for ornamentation, and they have been so combined as to produce the most striking effects. They have been, perhaps, more profusely employed than the classic taste of the Grecians would have permitted ; but the accumulations being harmonious are not displeasing, and the main object being magnificence, they could not well be avoided. It may be added also that no object has anywhere been represented which is not calculated to inspire a sense of beauty in the beholder. The Romans made a grave mistake in this respect by placing skulls of men and oxen with cross bones between their triglyphs as objects of beauty. Long association may have altogether deadened the repulsiveness of those objects to the European eye, but as Ruskin pointedly observes, "We may keep a skull besides us as long as we please ; we may overcome its repulsiveness ; we may render ourselves capable of perceiving many qualities of beauty about its lines ; we may contemplate it for years together if we will, it and nothing else ; but we shall not get ourselves to think as well of it as of a child's fair face."[67] Nothing of the kind occurs in Orissan temples. Grotesque forms and unnatural combinations are not uncommon, but they are by no means more obtrusive than in Greek or Roman art, and if the religious element and its monstrous conceptions could be eliminated, there would be little that would be disagreeable or unpleasant. It is worthy of remark also that at Bhuvaneśvara this religious element is not particularly prominent ; and the bulk of the ornaments have been copied from nature, and arranged with considerable study and refinement of taste.

Carving in situ : In carving the ornaments, the Orissan artists followed the Assyrian plan of working *in situ*, and not the Egyptian one of preparing the sculptures in their *ateliers*, and then fixing them in their proper places. The temples were first built with a casing of carefully dressed ashlars, the largest blocks being placed where large statues were to be carved, and the sculptures traced and cut after the buildings were completed. This is evident from the number of tracings existing on temples which circumstances afterwards prevented the artists from cutting and finishing; this plan was also followed in the ornamentation of the Sārnāth Tower and the Bhilsā Tope. This doubtless must have entailed stupendous labour, but it minimised the risk of injury to finished works. Three lions on the shaft of the Koṇārak Temple measure eighteen feet in length each, and were originally placed at a height of over sixty feet above the level of the surrounding country. In rough block each of them must have weighed over ninety tons, and when being lifted to their places they must have been subjected to an

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67. *Modern Painters*, II, 30.

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amount of rough usage, which could never have spared the integrity of any carved work. In the case of ornamental bands and small bas-reliefs, the risk of injury, it is true, was not great ; but in the absence of cement, it was necessary for the sake of strength and solidity in the temples to adopt the course under notice. The rule, however, did not apply to the images of gods in the sanctuaries, and also to some of the more fiinished statues in niches, which were evidently first carved in the shops of the artists, and afterwards removed to the places designed for them.

Toreutic Art : Reference has been made above to the copper statue of Buddha found at Sultānganj.[68] It is the largest metal figure of ancient times that has come under observation in this country. In artistic execution it is in no way inferior to the ordinary run of stone statues of Buddha found at Behar, Sārnāth, and other places in Northern India, showing that the people at the time were as competent in carving in stone as in modelling and moulding. But the most remarkable circumstance in connexion with it is the evidence it affords of the capacity of the people in melting and casting copper in such large quantities as to produce figures seven feet four inches in height. So extraordinary and improbable did this circumstance appear to some of the European officers of the East Indian Railway Company, when the figure was discovered, that they took it to be of Birmingham manufacture sent out to this country for sale. There is, however, no doubt now about its Indian and ancient origin. Other figures of copper have been found, and there is ample proof in the ancient copper weapons of war that that metal was largely worked by the people of former times. It must be added, however, that on the whole, copper was never very largely used in the fabrication of statuary, and bronze never, that alloy being held impure. Brass is more readily melted ; it has a more attractive colour ; it takes a finer polish, and is firmer, more malleable, less liable to rust, and more easily wrought than copper. It has therefore, been generally preferred as a material for ornamental figures. In the formation of the statues of gods, it is also very largely employed : but in such cases it is alloyed with small quantities of six other metals, viz., gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, and mercury, making, with the copper and zinc of brass, eight, which is esteemed the purest alloy and prized very highly as *aṣṭadhātu*. Statuettes of pure gold or silver were also made, and in the Śāstras much praise is bestowed on those who worship idols made of them ; but no authentic ancient figure of the precious [68] metals has come to my notice. The Tantras recommend *liṅgams* made of mercury as the most sacred ; but I have seen none, and know not how the metal was manipulated ;—probably it was used in the form of an amalgam with lead or tin. In Orissa the metal figures of gods and goddesses are mostly of brass, and a few of *aṣṭadhātu*. They have been made by being first cast in moulds, and afterwards finished by chiselling and filing. The large figure of Lakṣmī in the Great Temple of Puri affords the best speciemen of its kind, and figures from 1 to 2 feet in height are met with in some of the minor temples. But, generally speaking, the execution of metallic figures of the Uriyās is inferior to the better specimens of their stone sculpture, and the size of such figures is generally so small that they

68. *Ante* page [64], and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII, 360.

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are not worthy of any lengthened notice as specimens of the toreutic art. Nothing need also be said of legends on coins, inasmuch as no indigenous coin of an ancient date has yet been found in Orissa. Metallic figures have been little employed for ornamental purposes, except as feet for thrones, stands for lamps, and for other articles of domestic use. But in their case the execution is of a very primitive kind.

The researches of James Prinsep have clearly demonstrated that some of the Hindu princes of the first century of the Christian era borrowed their numismatic devices from the Bactrian Greeks. They failed, however, to preserve the beauty of the origina designs, and in a few centuries so entirely debased them as to render them irrecognisable. To what extent this importation of the art of die-sinking reacted on Indian toreutic art generally it is impossible now, in the utter absence of authentic, ancient, dated specimens, to determine. The only work of real value known is the Sultānganj Buddha; but it has no date on it. Probabiy it is from sixteen to eighteen hundred years old ; and such as it is, it has no trace whatever in its composition of Greek art. None of the metal figures of gods and goddesses in ancient temples now extant, can confidently be said to be of a greater age than a thousand years : the great majority of them are about half that age ; and their forms are strictly Indian.

Origin of Indian plastic art : Of plastic art, a few specimens have been from time time to met with towards the North-Western frontier, which bear more or less traces of Greek character on them. Some time ago a few images were found in the Eusufzai country, which in style and execution seemed very like debased Greek works.[69] A figure of Buddha in slate stone, found by Dr. J. G. Gerard in the ruins of an ancient town two miles S. E. of Cabul,[70] is supposed by some to have marks of genuine Bactrian formation. A stucco head found in Peshawar, and exhibited by major Baker at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in November, 1851, was also supposed to have the same character.[71] The peculiarities of these figures are, however, not so decidedly Greek,

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69, *Journal* Asiatic Society, XXI, p. 606.

70. The figure is now preserved in the Indian Museum, and is thus described in its *Catalogue*, "No. 840. A figure of Śākya in the usual sitting posture of deep meditation, clothed to the neck in a thin flowing drapery ; flames of sacred fire appear on his shoulders, and a circular glory surrounds the whole". *Catalogue of Curiosities*, p. 47.

71. The following is an extract from the late Mr. Welby Jackson's remarks on the same : "The head is of a superior character in every respect ; the eyes open and intelligent ; the nose well-formed ; and the nostrils open and well articulated ; the upper-lip short ; the lips well and sharply defined ; and the mouth bearing a pleasing and intellectual expression ; the head, too, is correctly modelled, shewing some knowledge of the art of sculpture ; the ears are concealed by the full curls of the hair, which hangs loosely on each side of the head, the curls being well and sharply executed ; on the head is a cap or fillet ; the two sides being apparently connected by the principal band which goes round over the forehead ; but the upper part open, allowing the hair to appear and fall over the band just above the forehead ; the sides of the cap are divided into lozenge-shaped projections

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as to leave no room for question. The same cannot be said of a remarkable piece of sculpture in red sandstone found at Mathurā by the late Colonel L. R. Stacy, and now deposited in the Indian Museum. It represents a large *tazza*, surrounded by two groups of men and women. The bowl of the *tazza* is broken ; the figures have suffered much from decay ; and their faces have been knocked off by the iconoclastic zeal of some fanatics. Enough, however, remains of the whole to attach to this piece of carving peculiar interest in connexion with the history of Indian plastic art. Apparently it embodies the most curious mixture of Indian and foreign ideas and objects that has ever come under notice. Its material, the mottled red sandstone, is the same which Huviṣka used in the construction of his great monastery at Mathurā over nineteen hundred years ago, and which the Moghols employed in the erection of their forts at Delhi, Agra, and Allahabad. The Hindu fort of Gwalior and the ancient temple of Govindajī at Vṛndāvana, are built entirely of this stone, and innumerable Hindu and Paṭhān edifices along the banks of the Yamunā attest the fact of its being an Indian material, and the sculpture under notice have been made in India. But a *tazza*, as an article of decoration, as far as there are means of judging, was [69] unknown in ancient India, and it may therefore be accepted as a proof, as far as such a proof can go, of the presence in India of foreign artists. The subject of representation on one side (obverse) of the stem of the *tazza* is a pot-bellied, stout man, seated in a wine-befuddled style on a rock, or a low stool, with his hands resting on an attendant standing on each side. "The drooping of the head, the lips, and the powerless state of the limbs," says Col. Stacy, "give an extremely accurate representation of a drunken man." For dress he has only a *dhuti*, negligently wrapped round his loins below the abdomen, leaving the paunch uncovered and projecting. His feet are partially mutilated ; one leg is raised, the other is hanging. Round his head he wears a chaplet of angular-lobed leaves. The attendant on the right side is a male, dressed in a *cāpkān*, and having a square scarf tied in front of the neck by a knot, very much in the same style in which the *pīṭha-vastras* of the associates of Kṛṣṇa are represented in the present day, and also in old sculptures. Cowherds in the North-Western Provinces tie their blankets also in the same way, and Indian boys, until recently, had their

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from the surfaces, representing some kind of ornament ; where these sides join the band or fillet, I think something has been broken off ; the countenance is handsome and pleasing in its expression, either in profile, or in full face ;—the material is a dark stucco or cement, not so easily broken as that of Plate XIX, and of better and finer ingredients ; indeed the sharpness of the work is surprising, considering its antiquity. I cannot conjecture without more data what or whom this head No. 2, is designed to represent ; but it is evidently not a Hindu head ; and on comparing it with the heads on the early Bactrian coins, there appears to be a great resemblance, in general character ; sufficient to induce me to think it belongs to that period. The expression of the face is somewhat of a Greek cast, but it is not a pure Greek countenance.

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little *cādars* tied on them in the cold weather in a like manner. The writer of this work himself had it when a boy. Col. Stacy describes it as "a kerchief round the neck with a tie in front as worn by sailors".[72] General Cunningham takes it to be "the short cloak of the Greeks."[73] The head and left arm of the figure are mutilated; the right hand is stretched behind the central figure for its support. The attendant on the left side is a female, supporting the right hand of that figure on her breast. She is dressed in a *sāḍi*, whose ample folds lie gracefully on the lower limbs, covering them to the heels. A jacket is seen over it, probably a *kurtā*, which looks like an Ionic *chiton* with short sleeves, but without the usual girdle. The two articles of dress together appear very like the double *chiton* with an ample and following *cholpos* (*Kholpos*). It is evident, however, that the lower garment is not a Greek petticoat, but a *sāḍi*, as the upper end of it passes diagonally over the breast and left arm, whence it hangs down behind the body. She has no hymation or scarf over her body clothes. Her feet are covered by the skirt of the *sāḍi*. A necklace of five rows adorns her breast, and thick heavy jewels are pendant from her ears. The face is mutilated. Before her stands sideways a nude boy with his right hand resting on the thigh of the central figure. Before the male attendant there is also a boy, standing in a dancing attitude with the right hand uplifted. The heads of the boys are broken. Before the principal figure, there is an Indian *loṭā* or flagon, apparently serving the purposes of a bottle. On the reverse there are four figures, two male and two female, standing under an umbrageous grove whose foliage is made up of long, lanceolate, pinnate leaflets hanging in masses, and relieved with globular tufts (*capitulums*) formed of small flowers. The leaves can be likened to the young shoots of the *Jonesia aśoka*, but the flowers are more like those of the *Nauclea kadamba* than of former. The first figure to the right is a female, dressed in a *ghāgrā* much in the style of the female attandant already noticed, but having a narrow long *cādar* thrown across the body. Her feet are encased in shoes, and there are thick heavy rings round her ankles. Her left hand holds the hem of her mantle, and the right is in the grasp of a youth who stands beside her in an amatory mood, with crossed legs, resting his left hand on her shoulders. He is dressed in a close fitting *dhaḍā* or *jaṅghi* which simply covers his nudity, extending only to about the middle of the thighs, but leaving his protuberant paunch exposed, and a scraf or *pīṭha-vastra* tied before the neck and hanging behind the body. His feet are bare. The third figure is a female dressed exactly as the first, but she has elaborately-worked bangles, which cover nearly half the length of her fore-arms. Her left hand holds a lotus-bud, and the right hangs down straight by her side. Near her feet there are two covered vessels, one on each side. The youth who stands next to her on the extreme left, does not appear to be in any way interested in her. He has no shoes, and on his person is a flowered

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72. *Journal* As. Soc., V, p. 567.
73. *Archaeological Report*, I, p. 243.

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muslin *cāpkān* which hangs down to the knee. A little above his ankle there are marks showing that his nether garment is a pair of close-fitting drawers or *pāyajāmā*. All the four figures show traces of chaplets which had crowned their heads. The leaves of these crowns are angular-lobed, and may be taken for vine or ivy.

Col. Stacy took the portly, seated figure to be "Silenus inebriated", and the whole to be "a scene in the Bacchanalian festivals". James Prinsep supported the conjecture by observing that "there can be no doubt as to the personage represented by the principal figure; his portly carcass, drunken lassitude, and vine-wreathed forehead, stamp the individual; while the drapery of his attendants pronounces them to be at least foreign to India". He had grave misgivings, however, about the costume of Silénos himself, which he thought to be "certainly highly orthodox and Brāhmanical". General Cunningham does not notice the *dhuti* of the principal figure, but is disposed to side with Col. Stacy and Prinsep. Of the figures on the reverse, he says: "The Greek—clad male figure may possibly be Silenus, but I am unable to offer even a conjecture as to the figure in the tunic".[74]

The arguments on which the Bacchic theory of the distinguished antiquarians is founded, are:—1st, the general excellence of the sculpture; 2nd; the character of the principal figure; 3rd, the dresses of two of the male figures; 4th, ditto of [**70**] the females; 5th, the vine-leaf crowns; 6th, the foreign character of the *tazza*. None of these arguments, however, is such as to leave no room for doubt, and people in this country may well question their accuracy.

1st.— They may very reasonably say that the first argument involves a *petitio principii*. The question at issue is whether this excellent piece of carving, found in India and made of Indian material, can be taken as a specimen of Indian art, and it is begged by the assertion that it cannot be Indian because it is so excellent. Had the condition of Indian plastic art two thousand years ago in the different parts of India, and among the different classes, castes, and nations been exactly known and ascertained, the case would have been otherwise; but that being a moot question, the argument appears to be no better than that of the East Indian Railway officers, who said the copper Budhha of Sultānganj (*ante* p. [65]) must be of Birmingham manufacture, because the Indians could not cast so large a statue in copper. They may also add that, superior as the character of the sculpture is, it has nothing in it of the Greek art of the third, or the fourth century, B.C., and James Prinsep very properly remarked that "if the sculptor were a Greek, his taste had been somewhat tainted by Indian beau ideal of female beauty".

2nd.—The second argument is founded on the maudlin character of the principal figure. It presupposes that an Indian artist could not possibly conceive a drunkard. But the natives may say in reply that drinking and drunkenness was very common in India two thousand years ago, so much so that large quantities of foreign wine had to be

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74. *Ibid, loc. cit.*

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imported for the gratification of the higher orders of the people,[75] and the representation of a drunkard by an Indian artist, therefore, is by no means a very improbable feat. But what is more, one of the most favoured gods of the people Baladeva, was a noted drunkard, who never appeared before the public without being the worse for liquor.[76] He was of a big, burly portly make, ill-clad, or sparingly clad, as became a shepherd boy, and crowned with leaves and flowers. His idols are generally represented with a drinking cup in his right hand. Several European scholars have very aptly nicknamed him the Bacchus of the East. He was born in the Mathurā district, and an image of his in a state of drunken lassitude, with a flagon of wine before him, cannot be taken to be other than a very appropriate Indian subject. With all his fondness for spirituous liquors he was however celebrated for his constancy, and the presence in the scene, therefore, of his wife, who always shared in his potations, and his two young sons, is by no means extraordinary, and no one will deny him an attendant to hold him up and prevent his falling from his seat.

3rd.— The so-called " sailor's scarf " tied by a knot in front of the neck is a veritable Indian dress of the lower orders, the *pīṭha-vastra.* It is especially assigned by Indian poets to Kṛṣṇa and his shepherd associates. In scenes representing the early lives of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa, those personages are invariably dressed in the present day with this article of attire. It may appear like a short Greek cloak, but in reality it is not a made dress, but a square scarf tied by the two upper corners round the neck, and not secured by a clasp or *febula.*

4th.—They can urge the female dress to be also Indian, and not Grecian. The so-called *chiton* is no other than the *kurtā*, and the under-dress, a *ghāgrā* or *sāḍi* : it falls heavily down to the ground covering the feet, and is not parted on the thigh, exposing a part of the limb, as is so peculiar and charming in Greek sculptures. The scarf over the dress is the long Indian *uḍnā*, and not the square Greek hymation, or *pallium.* The skirt of the *kurtā* appears a little more closely folded than is common in the present day ; but there is little in it that will make it unmistakably Grecian, and nothing else. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that this article of dress is a *chiton*, and not a *kurtā*, the natives may be disposed to ask, how is it that the artist assigned to Greek Bacchantes the attitude of Indian women, and loaded them with thick anklerings, large bracelets, heavy earrings, and five-rowed necklaces ? For Greek ladies of the time of the Indo-Bactrians, sandals would also be more becoming and national than shoes which, according to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, were common among Indian women.

5th.—The fifth argument may be very well combatted in the same way. Rude outlines of angular-lobed leaflets are by no means such decided indications of the character of the plant they are taken from, as not to leave a considerable margin for speculation.

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75. *Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India*, in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XLII, Part I, p. 1.

76. *Vide* my paper on a *Picnic in Ancient India*, in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XLI, Part I, p. 340.

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Col. Stacy took them for vine ; but General Cunningham is undecided as to whether they represent vine or ivy. Supposing they are vine, it does not follow that argument founded upon it becomes conclusive. Grapes and grape wine were very well known and in use in former times ; and vine leaf may be delineated by an Indian artist as an accessory to a drunken man. Were this not the case, still Indian flora is not so poor as not to yield at least a hundred different plants with angular-lobed leaves to supply patterns for leafy crowns ; indeed were it not for the association of the idea of leafy crowns with vine and ivy in European writers, it is doubtful if the thought of their being vine or ivy would have ever occurred from a mere sight of the symbolical outlines on the figures. The readers of the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Bhāgavata*, and other Vaiṣṇava works [71] know well how frequently are crowns of wild flowers and leaves mentioned as ornaments for Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa, and their boon companions, and to Indians, therefore, the argument is of very little moment.

6th.—The last argument appears at first sight to be a very strong one ; the Hindus were never very fond of *tazzas*, and such a vessel at once suggests the idea of the Greeks and the Romans. But a careful examination of the bowl of the vessel (the stem is not visible) does not show the argument to be quite conclusive. A shallow patera-like basin for a fountain is by no means thoroughly un-Indian. The people of this country have always been fond of fountains, and frequent mention is made of such *jets d'eau*, in ancient Sanskrit works ; and the so-called *tazza* may very well be taken for the base of an unfinished fountain. The piece of sculpture is too large and heavy for a receptacle for wine ; it could not be moved about without the aid of several persons, levers, and cordage ; and few would like to keep wine in an open shallow vessel of the kind made of a porous stone which would absorb the whole of its contents in a few hours. Taking these circumstances into consideration those who deny the Greek character of the sculpture may urge that it was intended for an ornament for a garden, or a bower, to be kept permanently fixed in an open place, and as such, it would best serve the purposes of a fountain.

As to the subjects intended to be represented by the figures, the oppositionists may contend the obverse to be a scene in the life of Baladeva, and the reverse, another of the same divinity, or, more probably, one of his brother Kṛṣṇa-scenes which have been endeared to the people by ten thousand different associations. To a Hindu, a figure with crossed legs, dressed in a *dhaḍā* and *pīṭha-vastra*, engaged in amorous dalliance with a damsel, cannot appear as other than that of the ardent lover of the milkmaids of Vṛndāvana in the society of his beloved Rādhā, and the other two as companions of the love-smitten swain and his mistress. The milkpails with the two young shepherdesses had started from home, probably with supplies for their customers, but which they have laid down by their feet upon being diverted from their destination, bespeak their true character. The indifference with which the two figures on the left regard each other, shows clearly that they are mere attendants, and not active participators of the joys of the assignation. If the principal figure be taken for Baladeva, the reverse will be a scene of enjoyment, and the obverse a retribution for over-indulgence.

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There is one circumstance, however, which melts all these arguments into thin air : both the principal figures have traces on their chins of a curly beard, and no Hindu divinity, nor any Hindu householder or man of pleasure, has ever been represented, either in poetry or in plastic art, with such an appendage to his face. The Hindu Śāstras have invariably and uniformly assigned the beard to houseless hermits and sages who have renounced the pleasures of the world, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that there was any exception, or that the sculpture is intended as a satire on a hermit. It must follow, therefore, that the scenes delineated are foreign, and most probably those of some passages in the life of Silénos. The figures are decidedly Bacchic, and the beard, the *cantharus*, the vine crown, and the *tazza*, are very appropriate emblems and accessories to indicate their characters. To account for the Indian character of some of the details, I believe the sculpture to be the handiwork of an Indian artist working for a Bactrian or Greek employer, just in the same way in which Indian artists, working for General Claude Martin produced the " Constantia " house at Lucknow, bastardising a Muhammadan building with corrupt Renaissance ornaments and decorations. A drawing of the design was given by the employer, and the artist worked it out in the best way he could, with such additions and alterations as his Indian ideas of the requirements of art suggested to him. General Cunningham is of opinion that the sculpture was produced by a foreign artist—one " of a small body of Bactrian Greek sculptors who ", he conjectures, " found ready employment for their services amongst the wealthy Buddhists, just in the same way as goldsmiths and artillerymen afterwards found service with the Moghal Emperors ;"[77] and it is undeniable that during the supremacy of the Graeco-Bactrians in North-Western India for about a century, Greek works of art were produced in a more or less debased state for Huviṣka and his successors. But neither the conjecture nor the probability suffices to account for the local character of so many of the accessories of the sculpture. A Greek or Bactrian artist, working for a Greek or, a Bactrian, employer would be the last person to design heavy earrings, thick anklets, five-rowed necklaces, Indian *dhuti*, Indian *pāyajāmā*, Indian *cāpkāns* of flowered muslin, Indian *cādars*, and Indian shoes for a Grecian demi-god and his attendants. A local cause for them must be sought, and I believe the Indian nationality of the artist offers the most probable soultion of the difficulty, the Greek " feeling " of the work being accounted for by the design. But whatever the origin of this and the other works named above, there is nothing in them, nor a tittle of evidence of any kind to show that they gave rise to the plastic art in this country, or even appreciably influenced its character. Outlines of human forms must be, from their nature, similar wherever produced, but " even as in music the same tune assumes different styles under different treatment, and experts can easily make out, not only such styles, but their imitations ", [72] so in the plastic art there are styles and their imitations which are determinable ; but as yet no one has noticed any unmistakable and certain trace of a Greek or Bactrian style or imitation of it in Indian sculptures. The little that has been noticed in the specimens above named are peculiar to them, and them only,

77. *Loc cit.*

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and not to be found in the bulk of the sculptures of this country, which have their own special peculiarities,—which mark them as strictly indigenous, and perfectly independent of foreign art. Hence it is, I believe, that Mr. Westmacott came to the conclusion that, " the conquests of Alexander the Great do not appear to have exercised any important influence on the art of India, by introducing new forms or improved principles of beauty." Professor Lübke, who is a strong advocate of the Alexandrine theory as regards Indian architecture, and supposes that " the Aśoka columns point most remarkably to the influence of Western Asia,—that is, the Babylonic Assyrian,—which might certainly have resulted from Alexander's march of conquest ", admits " that if this be the case, still in the earlier Indian civilization of which we certainly have but few traces, distinct national forms of art must have been already developed and these Buddhism immediately transformed into monumental importance " [78] Mr. Auckland, in his *Manners and Customs of India* (p.121), after adverting to the Greek character of the Hātigumphā inscription of Udayagiri, explains how the Greek record came to the country by asking himself, " whether it is possible, that when Alexander was stopped by the Afghans, any of his people ventured still further into the country, and after various wanderings, founded Cundaguree, as conquerors of the district "? He also states that he had seen some Roman emblems on the sculptures there. But as James Prinsep has already demonstrated the inscription to be Pāli, and the careless writer, who fancied that Alexander's march " was stopped by the Afghans ", has not described the particular emblems which he took to be of Roman origin, it is not worth while to refute his statements in detail.

Libels against Indian Art : Nor is it necessary here to notice at length the libel published by Müller, in which he sees art in India, "roaming about with inconstancy amid abundance of forms, and if it almost by accident lights on the simple and grand, is incapable of using and carrying it out as an established and recuring form of art ; so that it is difficult to get rid of the idea that the architectonic and plastic sense in India was only awakened by impulses and communications of various kinds from without (probably from the Greeks or Javans), and that a nourishment was presented to it, which, however, it could not rightly digest"[79] ; nor that of his translator, who describes "the enormous pantheon at Ellora, in the Ghaut Mountains, destined at the same time for the reception of hundred thousand pilgrims," (!) and notices in it "inverted acanthus capitals." In the absence of information and accurate drawings such mistakes, perhaps, could not be prevented, and the writers, therefore, were to a great extent helpless. Mr. Gwilt, comparing the essential differences beween Indian and Egyptian architecture, quotes a passage from the *Encyclopédie methodique* which says : "In Egypt, the principal forms of the building and its parts preponderate, inasmuch as the hieroglyphics with which they are covered never

78. *History of Art*, I, p. 77.
79. *Ancient Art and its Remains*, p. 226.

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interfere with the general forms, nor injure the effect of the whole; in India the principal form is lost in the ornaments which divide and decompose it. In Egypt, that which is essential predominates; in India you are lost in a multitude of accessories. In the Egyptain architecture, even the smallest edifices are grand; in that of India, infinite subdivision into parts gives an air of littleness to the largest buildings. In Egypt, solidity is carried to the extreme; in India, there is not the slightest appearance of it."[80] Replies to most of these objections have already been given above; but for the sake of convenience, and to show how utterly unfounded and unfair this comparison is, I shall recapitulate some of the principal points touched upon in this chapter. Without at all subscribing to the accuraey of Mr. Ruskin's canon in which he lays down seven fundamental principles—"the seven lamps" according to his fanciful style of expression—as controlling the architect, I shall examine how far they have been attended to in Orissa. The first of his seven is "Sacrifice." It refers primarily to Biblical atonement, and secondarily to the "value of the appearance of labour upon architecture." The latter alone can concern the people of this country; and it may be unhesitatingly stated that no competent, honest judge, who has beheld the temples of Orissa, can for a moment deny that the principle has been one of cardinal agencies which governed the action of their builders. There is no sign whatever of labour having been anywhere shirked, but ample evidence is everywhere most prominent to show that the most stupendous labour has been courted with a view to manifest "the spirit which offers for (devotional) work precious things, simply because they are precious;—not as being necessary to the building, but as an offering, surrendering, and sacrifice of what is to ourselves desirable."[81]

The second principle is that of "Truth", or the avoidance of architectural deceits, that is, "the suggestion of a mode of structure or support other than the true one, or the making of surfaces to represent some other material than that of which [73] they actually consist", or the employment of ornaments which are calculated to produce a false impression on the beholder. No deception of any such kind has been practised by the architects of Orissan temples: all their structures openly avow what they are intended for; every member has it use; every ashlar or moulding its meaning; no *terra cotta* moulded figures supply the place of honest hard-wrought sculpture; no painting deceives the eye into the belief that wooden panelings are variegated marble; no mark of mockery anywhere mars the beauty of truth.

Of "Power" the third lamp, by which massiveness as an element of architectural effect is indicated, enough has already been said in the preceding pages (pp. [35], [41]). There certainly does not exist in the massiveness of Orissan temples that nakedness which removes the pyramids from the pale of architecture as a fine art; but it is not the less remarkable. The first impression that the sight of an Orissan temple produces is its extreme solidity. No part of its construction appears weak, or

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80. *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, p. 30.
81. *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 9.

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insecure, or liable to be easily injured. As the visible abode of Sempiternal Divinity, it is expressly designed to typify, or symbolize, to man, the idea of eternity, defiant alike of time and of the tremendous elemental commotions of the tropics. If its parts are subdivided, or rather diversified, it is not to subdue the spirit of power, but to temper it with beauty; and I have no reason to suspect that those Europeans, who have studied ancient Indian temples, will for a moment be disposed to side with Mr. Gwilt, and take them to be emblems of littleness. At any rate, in Indians they inspire feelings of unity, solidity, beauty, and grandeur, the very reverse of what the critic named is inclined to think.

The fourth canon is "Beauty," or the disposition of architectural ornaments in the most effective way. Of this much has already been said, and a few words more will follow. The fifth is "Life" or "the making of an edifice the exponent of living things and of the men who rear it",—a living handiwork, bespeaking of the immortal spark in the architect struggling " towards something unattained ", and not the *caput mortuum* of a dead art. This yearning for advancement, to be really beneficial, should be controlled by " the Lamp of Obedience ", and so it is found in Orissa. From the time of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, in the middle of the seventh century, to that of the Black Pagoda of Koṇārak in the beginning of the thirteenth, the laws of the *Śilpa Śāstra* represented the Lamp of Obedience, while " the luxuriousness of perpetually varying fancy ", producing endless forms of ornaments in every possible mode of combination, bore evidence to that of life. From the last-named date life ebbed rapidly, and in less than a century was entirely extinct.

Little need be said of Orissan temples as " Lamps of Memory "—i. e., " as monuments of history, conservators of old ideas, and relics of the past ".[82] Every detail on them is a living monument,—every figure—every flower—every scroll records faithfully the feelings, desires and aspirations, the joys and the sorrows, the religion, the habits of life, and the social condition of a bygone age. They are not what Ruskin calls " the pitiful concretions of lime and clay which spring up in mildewed forwardness out of the kneaded fields about our capital—those thin, tottering foundationless shells of splintered wood and imitated stone—those gloomy rows of formalised minuteness, alike without difference and without fellowship", but living emblems of eternity, hoaried by age, and hallowed by ten thousand associations, pages of history in which the people of this country have read, and will read for centuries to come, lessons of a more endearing and stirring nature than can ever be acquired from the mist-encumbered folia of the bulkiest tomes. If they fail in any one point as " Lamps of Memory ", it is as regards political history. They bear no representations of battles with foreign foemen, no files of prisoners led in chains to swell the pageant of a mighty conqueror, no lines of potent king seated in a regal state, no varied groups of various nationalities to indicate the different races of men with which the kings of the country came in contact, such as endow the bas-reliefs and paintings of Egypt and Persia with engrossing interest. But it should be borne in mind that the structures on which such

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82. Samson on the *Elements of Art Critcism*, p. 373.

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political representations appear are places and tombs, i.e., to use the terminology of Ruskin, "civil" and "memorial" edifices, and there they are most appropriate and becoming ; whereas those which form the subjects of this work as "devotional", earthly abodes raised by weak man for the habitation of the visible emblem of Him who is without beginning and without end, before which all men are equal, and the vanity and pomp of potentates melt into insignificance. Before them the sovereigns of Orissa assumed the humble title of "sweepers", and they could not venture to portray on such holy structures their own achievements and glory as sovereigns. Had their palaces been in existence, they would probably have shown some political bas-relief, but they have long since been swept away by the tide of time and the inundations of political vandalism.

Decoration : The "Lamp of Beauty" includes location, size, decoration, symmetry, and the disposition of light and shade. On each of these heads some remarks have already been made in different parts of the preceding pages (pp. [39], [28], [46] *et seq*). I desire, however, to add a few words regarding the last three. The excellence of decoration depends on the choice of forms, and their disposition in harmonious union. The two [**74**] conditions have to be equally respected, or the object is defeated. It would be a trite axiom to say, that unless the forms themselves be beautiful, no combination can make them so ; but it is equally true that even the most beautiful objects lose their effect if not appropriately arranged. The Orissans of the seventh century paid particular attention to both these conditions. They were, as already stated (p. [67]), very choice in the selection of only what are naturally beautiful for ornaments, and they tried their utmost to arrange them to the best advantage. If their attempt at arrangement has not proved quite so successful as could be wished, it is due as much to art in India not having attained to that pitch of excellence with which European critics are too apt to compare it, as to national habits and local prejudices ; for it must be borne in mind that, what is reckoned a most happy disposition according to one nation, does, often appear incongruous and offensive to another. An apt illustration of this remark occurs in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Adverting to the disposition of garlands, Mr. Ruskin observes : " A garland is meant to be seen upon a head. There it is beautiful because we suppose it newly gathered and joyfully worn. But it is not meant to be hung on a wall ".[83] This may be true of England, and perhaps also of modern Europe generally ; but in India, where the universal practice is to wear garlands round the neck and not round the head, such a canon of taste cannot but be laughed at as absurd and ridiculous. It is usual here also to decorate houses, on festive occasions, with chaplets of leaves and flowers hung all over the walls and accordingly Indian artists have everywhere ornamented the necks of pillars, and the surfaces of walls with carved ornaments of the kind, and the effect instead of being incongruous and offensive, is positively beautiful. The festoons on the Corinthian frieze are also most agreeable and pleasing. Ideas of caricature and grotesque also differ in different nationalities, and when they are brought to bear on ornamentation, diversities are produced, which, though not universally apprecia-

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83. *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, p. 105.

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ble, are still not on that ground faulty. In such cases all that can be demanded is harmony, and this, I venture to think, is not wanting in Orissan temples.

Respective Symmetry : Symmetry may be treated under three different heads : 1st. —*Proportion*, or the adaptation of the dimensions of the several parts of a thing to each other. 2nd.—*Respective Symmetry*, or such disposition of parts as to make the opposite sides equal to each other. 3rd.—*Uniform Symmetry*, or that disposition of parts in which the same ordinance reigns throughout the whole. Regarding the first, some remarks have already been made at the beginning of the second chapter. The second, at first sight, may appear to be an unnatural formality, and therefore not an essential element of beauty. Nature does not arrange a landscape by two exactly similar halves, producing the same thing twice over ; why should then man do so in building a house ? The argument, however, is fallacious. In a beautiful landscape there *is* a balancing of its different parts so as to secure a considerable amount of symmetry, and artists study it carefully in grouping their subjects on canvas. A landscape, however, is not a single entity, but a collection of many objects ; and for the purposes of comparison with a house or other art creation, it is necessary that individual objects of nature should be selected, and not collections. If this be done it will be found that nature is particularly mindful of respective symmetry in the formation of animated beings. With the exception of some of the lowest forms of organization, every animal is externally a compound of two symmetrical halves. Those halves may be so artfully united at the mesian line as to produce one individual, whose double character does not become manifest until after careful study, still the double character is nowhere wanting ; and what is more, the beauty of the form is in a great measure dependent upon it. Take away an eye or an arm from the finest figure, and its beauty is at once destroyed ; even the alteration by a hair's breadth of one side of the most exquisitely shaped mouth will induce an amount of deformity not easy to be defined. And what is true as regards the human form, is equally so in works of art, for imitation of nature forms the cardinal principle of beauty in art, and she advances towards perfection the more closely she copies nature ; to quote William Hazlitt : " the highest art is the imitation of the finest nature, or, in other words, of that which conveys the strongest sense of pleasure or power, of the sublime or beautiful ".[84] Doubtless in architecture, where the proportions are large, very slight differences are not so easily perceptible as in small objects, but the principle is not thereby in the least affected. In Greek architecture this attempt to copy nature by adhering closely to the laws of respective symmetry is most prominent. All its nobler specimens, if cut longitudinally along the middle from their fronts, would invariably produce two exactly similar halves. The same is the case in Orissa, and there is not a single exception. The front is a combination of two halves reduced to unity by the intervention of the door and the coat of arms, or the dripstone moulding, over it, even as the human form is united by the nose and the mouth ; and the two sides are exact counterparts of each other. The sameness induced by this arrangement is never obtrusive nor offensive,

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84. *Criticisms on Art*, p. 257.

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as the two sides can never be seen in the same light at the same instant: stand where the observer will, he can behold only one or two sides, or one full side and small portions of two other sides, together scarcely equal to two full sides, and these in such different [75] lights, that they never produce two identically same pictures, while the sense of beauty produced by them is infinitely greater than any diversity in the forms of the sides could possibly produce. Indeed, if one were to conceive in his mind a peripteral temple with the columns of its left side different from those of its right, and feel the aesthetic effect of the arrangements, he will find no difficulty in appreciating the beauty of form which results from the similitude of the two sides of a house. This symmetry has been marred in many Orissan temples by subsequent additions even as in Greek edifices, but the original conception of the building nowhere tolerated any departure from perfect symmetry.

Uniform Symmetry : Another principle of art in which repetition of the same forms and ornaments, instead of marring, or cloying, the sense of beauty, enhances it, is *uniform symmetry*, or that disposition of parts in which the same ordinance reigns throughout the whole. Whatever the number of columns required in a building, it must be made up of structures of the same size and shape, and they must be arranged in the same style, and at uniform distances with almost mathematical precision ; no deviation being anywhere permitted, and the smallest change being reckoned prejudicial to beauty and taste. This is the fundamental law on which orders in architecture are founded, and it was most rigorously enforced by the Greeks. Indeed, the relative proportions of the several members of each Greek order are such, that it is impossible to mix any important member of one order with another without causing a frightful amount of deformity. In the absence of information regarding the different orders of architecture which prevailed in India in ancient times, and it being even questionable whether there were more than one order current, it is impossible to say how far there were restrictions in the way of employing ornaments promiscuously ; but as regards particular classes of buildings the rule of uniform symmetry was strictly observed. The roof appropriate to a porch was never put on a dancing hall, nor the mural decorations of the latter ever transferred to the former. The system of projections so peculiar to the square chamber of the temple and its porch could not be assimilated to light, open, oblong dancing hall without altering its character ; nor could the refectory be placed in immediate proximity to the temple to serve the purposes of a porch without destroying the symmetry of both. In short, each class of building has its peculiar character, peculiar disposition, and peculiar ornaments, and these have been assigned to their respective uses with scrupulous care. Further, when out of a number of various decorations, a particular one has been selected, such as the typical pilaster with ophidian mermaids, it has been repeated as often as necessary, but never coupled with another of a different style. There are instances in which a whole facade is not made up of the same kind of pilaster throughout, but of two or more kinds ; but in such cases the grouping is peculiarly ingenious and artistic, and by the repetition of the same arrangement on the opposite sides, respective symmetry and harmony have been very happily preserved. All this is doubtless entirely arbitrary and fictitious ; but, as justly observed by De Quincey, "in every art there must

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be, with respect to truth, some fiction, and with respect to resemblance, something incomplete",[85] and in regard to such a technical art as architecture, the mere fact of such rules having been laid down and imperatively enforced, implies a highly advanced intellectual condition of the architects.

Light and Shade : Casual references have already been made to the plan adopted by Orissan artists of diversifying their walls by frequent projections with bevelled corners, and repeated chamfering, or splaying, and other devices, so as to produce varied contrasts of light and shade, and thereby secure the highest amount of picturesque effect compatible with a monochrome ground. This is a characteristic which, I believe, is peculiar to this country. The Grecians effected this object by their magnificent columns placed on high terraces, so as to set the whole structure in bold relief against their clear blue sky. The Romans attempted to secure it by introducing engaged pillars, which, however, though effectual in covering the nakedness of flat walls, were not sufficient to cast such strong shadows as to secure much relief. The Saracens failed completely in this respect. Their walls are the repositories of panelings innumerable, but nothing high enough to cast a strong shadow. In Orissa, on the other hand, the elevations and depressions of the surface are so bold and varied, that there are marked differences of light and shade, and yet they are so artistically and harmoniously united as to produce the most charming effect. On the surfaces of the walls, the elevations, as already stated (p. [41]), are produced by buttress-like projections with chamfered corners, and the depressions by niches ; on pillars and pilasters by contractions and bands supplemented by chamfering and other devices ; and on mouldings and ornaments by an intricate system of stops, scooping, and carving, which

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85. *An Essay on the Nature, the End, and the Means of Imitation in the Fine Arts*, p.113.

Note to line 23, p. [69] The Statue of Silénos is placed in so bad a light in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, that I could not, when I first examined it, correctly ascertain the character of the object which has been described as a *loṭā* or cantharus in front of the principal figure in the obverse. The object represented is the forepart of a lion issuing from a cave and not a *loṭā*. On the strength of this the Hindus might claim the group to represent Śiva, his wife Durgā, his two sons Kārtikeya, and Gaṇésa, and his demon attendant Nandī. But the beard, so uncommon in images of Śiva, and the Greek feeling and character of the grouping, are opposed to the claim.

Note to line 45, p. [43] The Apollo and Daphne of Bernini seems to be an imitation of an antique group of Bacchus and Ampelus found at La Strota, about eight miles from Rome, and now in the British Museum. It represents Ampelus at the period of his transformation into the vine plant, but before the metamorphosis has been quite completed. "The lower part of his body appears to have taken root, while the transformation, which is gradually proceeding, has not yet deprived Ampelus of the power of looking up affectionately at his master, to whom he is offering grapes. The skill of the sculptor has blended together the animal and vegetable forms with so much ingenuity that it is difficult to decide either where the one begins, or the other terminates". *Engravings from the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, Part III, Plate XI.

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changes the light into a variety of shades. On rounded forms a line-of-beauty-like sigmoid scroll is a common device. It is sometimes carved into foliage, but ordinarily left bare. Its effect is very pleasing, It cuts the figure into two, and, by casting a strong dark line of shadow, brings out its contour to perfection. On flat bands and mouldings oblong tablets are frequently used, [76] which break their continuity, and effect an agreeable diversion. But the most generally adopted device is the *Rāmarekhā* already noticed. Its use as a crest, though extensive, is secondary compared to the part it plays in regulating the fall of light on mouldings, bands and fascias (p. [47]). Mr. H. H. Locke of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, speaks in terms of great praise of this class of stops ; and as he has made a more thorough and scientific study of Orissan architecture than any other European artist or antiquarian, and can, from his perfect familiarity with, and professional knowledge of, European art, speak on the subject with much authority, I avail myself of his permission to quote here a passage from a private letter of his to my address. He says : "These points are so many *stops* in the line of light and shade ; sometimes the pause is that of a light point amid shadow, sometimes it is a dark point upon a belt of light ; in both these phases the feature is extremely characteristic of the architecture you are writing about, and shews clearly how well the Orissan builders understood the value of a sharp line of cast shadow across a varied surface. Place a rod in front of a long suit of mouldings and see how the cast-shadow of the stick, in winding and turning in and out of round and hollow, projection and depression, 'brings out' the profile or contour of the different surfaces, and the more direct the sun's rays fall on them, destroying the local surface-shades, the stronger will be the effect of the cast-shadow. The Hindus, I am safe in saying, felt this thoroughly, and never allowed a long suit of mouldings to run the risk of appearing tame and uniform from loss of light and shade ; these 'stops', as I have called them, are always brought in every here and there giving sharp cast-shaows which develop the forms of the moulded surfaces in a most effective and agreeable way. There seems in fact to have been a perfect thirst for light and shade—crisp, broken light and shade—and these stops are so many 'traps', not 'to catch sun-beams', but to catch form-explaining shadows. Even in the bases of piers and pilasters, where the horizontal run of the mouldings barely exceeds a couple of feet, there is still the stop which gives you a vertical 'contouring' midway, and the effect of the mouldings thus tied together by narrow strips left in the original surface-plane is, to my mind, charming in the extreme ".

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Chapter IV.

[77] Sculptural Indications Of The Social Condition Of The Temple Builders : Sculptured materials for a social history of India ; Sāñcī gateways ; Amarāvatī rails ; Bhuvaneśvara temples. Similarity of their historical indications deducible from the nature and character of Indian languages and religious systems. Importance of dress in civilization. Evidence of the *Ṛgveda* as to clothing ; material thereof, wool and cotton. Testimony of the Bible. Silk ; proofs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Manu on woollen and hempen thread. Arrian's muslins. Specimens of ornamented cloth from sculptures. Dyed cloth. Style of dress. Vedic evidence thereof; sculptural ditto. Ordinary everyday Āriyā male dress ; full dress. Ancient Hindu male dress. Uriyā female dress. Evidence of sculptured dress insufficient to settle questions of Indian ethnology, Mr. Fergusson's *Dasyus* ; their relations to the *Vānaprasthas*. Head dress ; coiffure ; caps ; turbans. Beard. Shoes, boots. Personal ornaments ; Vedic evidence ; that of Amarāvatī ; ditto of Bhuvaneśvara. Indian filigree. Crowns, coronets, and tiaras. Ear ornaments. Nose ornaments. Necklaces. Waist ornaments. Leg ditto. Material of ditto. Precious stones. Furniture ; bedsteads, bedding, footstools, chairs, folding stools, teapoys, thrones, tables. Mode of sitting. Umbrella. *Cāmara*. Fans. Domestic utensils. Drinking cups ; water carafes ; goblets ; spittoons ; betel boxes ; courier bags ; leather bottles ; dressing cases. Musical Instruments. Boats. Food and drink. Offensive arms,—bows, arrows, swords, lances, discuses, lassos. Defensive arms,—shields, armour. Flags. Trumpets. Horse. Harness. Whips. Chariots. Wagons.

Bearing in mind the marked success which has attended the labours of Sir Gardner Wilkinson in developing the history of Egypt from her ancient monuments, it is to be hoped that a time will come when it will be possible to deduce a similar social history of India for, at least, a considerable period of her antiquity. Materials for such a work are not altogether wanting. If, owing to the nature of the climate and other causes, there is now in India nothing like the endless series of old paintings which delineate almost every phase of Egyptian life,[1] or the historical bas-reliefs which record with fastidious exactitude the lives of Assyrian Kings, their wars, and hunting scenes, their state ceremonies and religious festivals, their servants and soldiers, their tributaries and captives, there are nevertheless a vast number of sculptures which serve to a great extent the same purpose. The Sāñcī gateways contain representations of several thousands of human figures engaged in various occupations of life, and they date from an early period, certainly not later than the first century of the Christian era. Three centuries subsequently there is in the topes of Amarāvatī,[2] in Guntoor, another and a most interesting collection. Adverting to the rail round this monument, Mr. Fergusson observes : "There were apparently twenty-four

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1. The frescoes of the Ajaṇṭā caves shew that they were at one time plentiful in India.

2. Mr. Fergusson spells the word "Amrāvatī", lit., having mangoe trees ; but, as he admits that it is derived from Amareśvara, the lord, *īśvara*, of the immortals, *amara*, the correct orthography should be as given above. To avoid a discussion for which I have no space here, I have accepted Mr. Fergusson's dates of Sāñcī and Amarāvatī ; but there are reasons to believe that the principal topes of those places date from a much earlier period.

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pillars in each quadrant, and eight at least in each gateway, say one hundred and twelve to one hundred and twenty in all. This involves two hundred and thirty to two hundred and forty central discs, all of which were sculptured ; and as each of these contains from twenty to thirty figures at least, there must have been in them alone from six thousand to seven thousand figures. If we add to these the continuous frieze above and the sculptures above and below, and the discs on the pillars, there probably were not less than one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty figures for each intercolumniation, say twelve thousand to fourteen thousand in all. The inner rail contains probably even a greater number of figures than this ; but they are so small as more to resemble ivory carving ; but except perhaps, the great frieze at Nakhon vat (in Kambodia), there is not, perhaps, even in India, and certainly not in any other part of the world, a storied page of sculpture equal in extent to what this must have been when complete"[3]. Most of these pillars and discs have no doubt already disappeared, but still enough remains amply to reward to diligent enquirer. Even a careful study of the valuable plates published in Mr. Fergusson's magnificent work would afford by no means a small amount of information to the student of history.

Extent of Bhuvanesvara sculptures : The total amount of sculptured work on the temples of Bhuvaneśvara, is probably greater than what is to be met with in Sāñcī or Amarāvatī ; but it is more ornamental than historical. The bulk is made up of mouldings, scrolls, floral devices, and animals, and the number of human figures to be seen is limited to perhaps two or three thousand. Most of those figures, besides, are placed singly in conventional attitudes; and [**78**] do not yield the same amount of information which storied groups are calculated to afford. Many of them again are repetitions, and others represent scenes, such as eating and drinking, playing and love-making, which are common to humanity in every part of the world. There are, nevertheless, several groups of great interest and even the single figures are not entirely useless as *indicia* of manners, customs, habits, and ideas of their time. Had these three collections belonged to the same province, and been the handiworks of the same race of men, bearing in mind the strong vitality of custom in this country, one could have taken the Sāñcī gateways of the first century, the Amarāvatī rails of the fourth, and the Bhuvaneśvara sculptures of the seventh century, as three consecutive chapters of a single history. Such is, however, not the case. They are entirely separated from each other by distance, by nationality, and, in one case, by religion, and the picture of domestic and social life they represent, cannot be strictly faithful of the whole of India. Nevertheless, their indications and suggestions must be applicable, of course with some reservations, to most parts of the country. The civilization of the Aryans, there are irrefragable evidences to show, had spread over nearly the whole of India long before the time when the sculptures under notice were designed, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that social life and art had been left in each province to follow their own individual course, utterly unaffected by it. Two states of civilization can no more remain in contact for any length of time without influencing each other, than two opposing

3. *Tree and Serpent Worship*. p. 166.

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forces can meet without a counteraction. The languages and the religious systems of the different races of India, bear the most unmistakable evidence of this law, and it may be fairly assumed that it is to be equally met with in domestic and social life. It has been already shewn that architectural details and ornamentation have been very much alike in all parts of India, and the general style of sculpture, making due allowance for differences of material, age and capacity, is likewise the same. The inference, therefore, that the civilization they delineate as regards dress, ornaments, household furniture and utensils, arms, musical instruments, and social life, was, within certain limits, similar, cannot be open to any serious objection. It would be foreign to the subject of this work to enter at length into a disquisition on the state of civilization in ancient India, but a few remarks bearing upon the evidence of the sculptures that have been met with, will perhaps not be quite out of place.

Importance of dress : The first step in the march from barbarism to civilization is indicated by the dress of a nation. Climatic and other causes, no doubt, influence the nature of dress ; but no race can be said to have emerged from the grossest barbarism, or the most primitive simplicity, which has not risen to something more substantial, ample and artifical than the wardrobe of mother Eve. The skins of animals have supplied the place of cloth to wild races at all times ; but it is only after those nations learn to convert them into leather that they can be said to have reached the outskirts of a civilized life. The Hindus seem to have made considerable progress in this respect at a very early period in their history. The *Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*, which dates with the Mosaic chronicles, contain many passages which show that even then they were perfectly familiar with the art of weaving not only for the necessaries, but also for the luxuries, of life. The passages, it must be confessed, are brief and casual, occurring mostly by way of similes and comparisons in hymns designed for the glorification of particular divinities ; but they are not the less interesting and suggestive on that account. Thus the verse which describes night as "enwrapping the extended world like a woman weaving a garment"[4], gives only a simile, yet that simile refers to a familiar fact whose existence cannot be questioned. In the same way a hymn to the Āpris makes "night and day interweave, in concert, like two famous female weavers, the extended thread to complete the web of the sacrifice".[5] Elsewhere we read of the fathers, who "wove and placed the warp and the woof". (X.30). "Uṣā (dawn) is a goddess, in person manifest like a maiden, who goes to the resplendent and munificent sun, and, like a youthful bride before her husband, uncovereth, smiling, her bosom in his presence".[6] Elsewhere she, "like a wife desirous to please her husband, puts on becoming attire, and smiling as it were, displays her charms".[7] Again, "exhibiting her person like a well-attired female, she stands before our eyes, gracefully inclining like a woman who has been bathing".[8] "Uṣas the daughter of heaven, tending to the west, puts forth her beauty like a well-dressed woman". In other places she is frequently represented as "clothed with radiance". The idea is repeated in connexion with the altar, which in one place is described

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4. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II. p. 307.
5. *Ibid.* II. p. 218.
6. *Ibid.* II. p. 9.
7. *Ibid.* II. p. 12.
8. *Ibid.* III. p. 369.

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as decorated in the same way, "as a wife attached to her husband puts on elegant garments to gratify him".[9] In a subsequent hymn, "the vast offspring of the firmament, the seven eternal ever youthful rivers", of the Vedic age are said to be "not clothed, yet not naked"[10]. In the remarkable hymn, in which Trita prays to be released from his confinement in a well, he says, "the ribs (of the well) close round me, like the rival wives (of one husband) ; cares consume me, Śatakratu, although thy worshipper, as a rat (gnaws a weaver's) threads",[11] and the scholiast finds in this, not altogether [**79**] without reason, a reference to the practice well known in the time of Manu (VIII. 397) of sizing threads with rice water, for the purose of weaving, and which made them palatable to rats. The whole passage, however, admits of a different interpretation. In a hymn to Indra, praises and hymns are compared to "elegant wellmade garments" (*vastreva bhadra sukṛta*), as being fit to be received as a respectful present"[12] (*Upasaṃhāravad grāhyāṇi*). Commenting on this passage, Wilson says, "If the rendering be correct this shows the custom of presenting honorary dresses to be of Indian origin, and of considerable antiquity". Among largesses given to priests by Divodāsa, the idea of a *Khilat* again recurs : thus the priest says, "I have received from Divodāsa ten horses, ten purses, ten clothes (*Khilats* of ten parchas ?), and ample food". Aśvattha gave to Payu "ten lumps of gold, ten well-appointed chariots, a hundred head of cattle".[13] Gifts of "elegantly adorned and well-dressed female slaves" are recited in a subsequent book. The *Yajus* and the *Sāma Vedas*, likewise, contain many references of the same kind to clothing, and in one place in the former "gold cloth", or brocade, for a counterpane is distinctly mentioned[14] ; but as those works are to a certain extent of comparatively later date, it is not necessary to load these pages with quotations from them.

Wool and cotton : No information is available in the *Ṛgveda* regarding the material of which the clothing, it so often alludes to, was made. Cotton is nowhere mentioned. Rams and ewes are described among domestic animals,[15] but they are not said to be the sources of cloth. It is nevertheless probable that both cotton and wool were the substances which were used in its manufacture ; for the term "weaving", which is occasionally used, could not have originated and got currency in the Vedic language, without the existence of some material adapted and in common use for weaving. "It is difficult to conceive", says Dr. Muir, "that cotton (which, as we learn from Professor J. H. Balfour, is supposed to have been indigenous in India), though not mentioned in the hymns, should have been unknown when they were composed, or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate".[16] This argument would apply equally to woollen stuffs in many parts of the Punjab, the earliest Aryan seats in India, where the

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9. *Ibid.* III. 122. 10. *Ibid.* II. 320. 11. *Ibid.* I. 271.
12. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* III. 277. 13. *Ibid.*, III. 474.
14. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 675.
15. "Who bestows easily-obtained happiness on our steeds, our rams, our ewes, our men, our women, our cows ?" Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II. p. 111.
16. *Sanskrit Texts*, V. 462.

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cold for some months in the year must have necessitated a much warmer covering than cotton cloth. In the Old Testament there are references which show that the ancient Indians did produce enough of woven texture to be able to export a portion for the use of foreign nations[17]. "That the coloured cloth and rich apparel brought to Tyre and Babylon from distant countries, were partly of Indian manufacture will scarcely be doubted", says Heeren, "after what has been already said of the extent of the Phoenician and Babylonian commerce".[18]

Silk : The case is different as regards silk. It is a substance which could have scarcely escaped notice had it been known at the time of the Vedas; but no mention of it has yet been met with. Pāṇini, however, has not only given words for wool, cotton, weaving, cloth turbans, sewing, &c., all of which were, at his time, perfectly familiar, but also for silk for which he gives a special rule.[19] In the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, silken, woollen, and cotton stuffs of various kinds were abundant and in extensive use. According to Vālmīki the splendid trousseau of Sītā consisted of "woollen stuffs, furs, precious stones, fine silk, vestments of divers colours, princely ornaments, and sumptuous carriages of every kind"[20]. The woollen stuff here adverted to, has been supposed by Heeren to have been shawls, for a time when coarse woollen cloths were used to cover wagons, as was the case in the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nothing short of the productions of the looms of Cashmir, the finest and most precious of woollen fabrics, would have been suitable for presentation to a princess; but the commentator Rāmānuja believes it to have been a stuff from Nepal. That the "fine silk" was a manufactured article is evident from the frequent allusion in the work to silk vestments of various kinds, worn, not only by queens and princesses, but also by other persons of quality. When Rāma and his brothers arrived at the capital from Mithilā with their new-married brides, Kauśalyā, Sumitrā, the fair Kaikeyī, and the rest of the royal *zenana*, "eager to embrace their beauteous daughters, received the happy Sītā, the far-famed Urmilā, and the two daughters of Kuśadhvaja, all sumptuously dressed in silk, and entertaining each other with agreeable conversation, hastened to the temples of the gods to offer incense".[21] Elsewhere we read—

[80] "Go quickly hence, and with you bear
Fine silken vestures, rich and rare,
And gems and many a precious thing
As gifts to Bharata and the king".[22]

At the time the *Laws of Manu* were codified, the profession of dealing in woollen stuffs had so far fallen in repute that it was prohibited to the Brāhmaṇs (X. 87), and the use of such stuffs was assigned to the third class of students in theology; the first and second wearing antelope skin and woven hemp, (II. 41). The sacrificial strings in the

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17. Ezekiel xxvii. 24.
18. Heeren's *Historical Researches*, III. p. 363.
19. *Kośāḍ ḍhañ* 4.3.4?. *Kāśasambhūtaṃ Kauśeyaṃ vastram.*
20. *Rāmāyaṇa*, B. I. Canto 74, verses 3-4.
21. Gorressio's *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. p. 297, verses 8-11.
22. Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*. II, p. 270.

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same way were required to be made of cotton, hemp, and wool, for the three classes respectively (II. 44).

Various places where stuffs were manufactured : The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not give us any clue to the different places which were noted for the manufacture of particular articles of clothing ; but some hints are available on this subject in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Sabhā Parva* of that work, the poet enumerates the several presents which princes and potentates from various parts of India, brought to the presence of Yudhiṣṭhira, and among them are mentioned clothes and skins, the former made of wool and embroidered with gold, being in fact shawls and brocades ; the latter, " the skins of animals that live in holes and wild cats, intending probably furs of varieties of the martin and weasel families ", brought by the Kāmbojas or people of the Hindu Kush ; " blankets of various manufacture " by the Ābhīras of Guzerat ; clothes of diverse kinds not made of cotton, but of the wool of sheep and goat, or of thread spun by worms (silk ?) or of *paṭṭa* vegetable fibres or hemp-linen, or made by machinery (woven ?), by the Scythians, Tukharas and Kankas ; housings for elephants, by princes of the Eastern tribes, lower Bengal, Midnapur and Ganjam ; and fine linen (? muslin), by the people of Carnatic and Mysore ".[23] After a careful study of this passage, Professor Wilson is of opinion that " silk, both raw and manufactured, was no doubt an article of import from China into India at a very early date ".[24] In the first century before Christ, king Śudraka makes the buffoon of his play, the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, enquire about the brother of a courtezan :

"Who is that gentleman dressed in silken raiment, glittering with rich ornaments, and rolling about as if his limbs were out of joint " ? (Act IV. Sc. II).

The mother of the Aspasia appears arrayed in " flowered muslin" with her " well -oiled feet thrust into slippers ".

In the time of Alexander's invasion, the Greeks were particularly struck with the extraordinary whiteness of Indian clothing, and did not fail to notice with great curiosity, as Herodotus and others had done before them in Egypt, that they were manufactured with the " tree-wool " or " wool produced in nuts ". Shortly after, Arrian, in the *Periplus to the Erythrian Sea*, noticed several kinds of cotton fabrics, both thin and thick. He names three principal sorts :—

1st.— *Indikon to platuteron i Legoméni Monakhi* Wide Indian muslins called Monakhe.
2nd.— *Sagmatogini* Muslins in single pieces.
3rd.— *Khudaion* Coarse muslins.

He has also a coarse cotton fabric of the colour of the mallow of the name of *Molokhina*, a fine muslin (? linen) of name of *Léntia*, and other muslins of the name of *Karpásos*. His *Sindones ai diaphosotatai Gaggitikhai*, it is evident, was also a variety of the finest Bengal muslin.[25]

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23. Wilson, in the *Journal R. As. Soc.* VII. 140.
24. Royle, *On the Productive Resources of India*, p. 117.
25. Vincent's *Periplus*, Appendix, vol. I, pp. 40, 41, vol. II, pp. 18, 39, 58, 66, 76.

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Cloth in sculpture : It is not to be expected that ancient sculpture should afford us any valuable information regarding this branch of our enquiry. The material and quality of woven texture can be but ill-represented in marble, and in such rough stones as the sculptors of India ordinarily had at their disposal, nothing of the kind was practicable. Nevertheless, they are not altogether silent on the subject. In the two principal statues in the great temple of Bhuvaneśvara, which are made of a superior kind of chlorite, and placed in deep recesses, completely protected from the sun and rain, the artist has attempted to produce a vestment of rich brocade, proving that fabrics of that description were then, as they are now, highly prized articles of luxury, familiar with the people. A specimen of this cloth is represented in Illustration No. 66. A glance at it will show that in neatness, elegance, and richness of design and execution, it is in no way inferior to the finest production of the Benares loom of the present day. In the temple of Baital Devī, or " the boat-shaped temple ", several figures of dancing girls are dressed in clothes of variegated patterns, and one [81] in a *pāyajāmā* or drawers, of diagonal stripes enclosing designs of spots, and zigzag lines. (Illustration No. 67.) A male figure in the same temple, has a pair of short-drawers of a similar kind of cloth, the stripes being relieved by spots only. (Illustration No. 68) A petticoat of a female figure has triple stripes, but no spots, sprigs, or other design. (Illustration No 69.) On some of the statuettes in Lakṣmī's Temple, there are also clothings of different designs, one of which with single stripes is shewn in Illustration No. 70. On a female figure playing with a child, brought from Bhuvaneśvara, and now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. 805), a double-striped pattern with wavy lines is distinctly seen. (Illustration No. 71.) On another figure (No. 808), the ground between the wavy horizontal stripes is relieved with detached flowers of two kinds, and the border is elaborately wrought, (Illustration No. 72), and the attendant of this figure has cloth with stripes, but no flowers. Illustration Nos. 73 and 74 exhibit clothes of the same kind, but the flowers are of different patterns. In the group of Silénos in the Asiatic Society's Museum, which, as already shown, is of Indian origin, and dates, at least, from the beginning of the Christian era, there is a male figure dressed in a *cāpkān*, the cloth of which is a kind of flowered mnslin, having sprigs all over the ground. (Illustration No. 75.) On another piece of sculpture in the same collection brought from Behar, and, from the character of the inscription on it, apparently of the eighth or ninth century, there is a representation of a kind of cloth with diagonal stripes relieved by flowers of two patterns. A Buddhist rail post from Buddha Gayā, also in the same collection, shows cloth of a check pattern. (Illustration No. 88.) The selvage of cloth is represented on many figures, and coloured borders on others. The fineness and transparency of scarfs are sometimes attempted to be shown, but the attempt has not been successful, and what appears now to be the success of art is probably due to inefficiency in representing the folds of the costumes.

Dyeing of cloth : Early Indian literature is silent with respect to the different colours used in dyeing textile fabrics in ancient times. But the great abundance of vegetable dyes in India could not but have attracted the notice of such an intelligent race as the early Aryan settlers were, and looking to the frequent mention of dye stuffs by Manu and other

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lawgivers, it is to be presumed that they were extensively used by the people in colouring their clothing. The rude aborigines such as the Bheels and Gonds, likewise availed themselves of the supply, and probably coloured their scant clothing and ornamental feathers and fibres to as large an extent as in the present day. Mention is frequently made of Aryan women staining the soles of their feet, and the palms of their hands, with a bright crimson dye extracted from *sapan* wood, and the practice of using colours for beautifying the face was not uncommon. In astrological works black clothing is said to be appropriate to the planet Saturn, yellow to Venus, and red to Mars, and the sin-steeped awning of Parīkṣita is described to have been of a black colour. Kṛṣṇa and other gods had, likewise, particular favorite colours for their dresses, and Indian poetry is eloquent on the charming effect of fair women dressed in blue cloth, which is often compared to a dark cloud relieved by the lightning flashes of beauty. No rules, however, appear to have been laid down for the use of distinctive colours by house-holders ; and with the solitary exception of hermits, who were required to wear an ochre-coloured vestment, each individual was left perfectly free in the choice of colours for his dress. Indeed, in this respect the Indian Aryans differed entirely from the Egyptians, and also from the ancient Irish, who had particular colours fixed to distinguish the rank and caste of every order of society. In Ireland King Eochaidh, it is said, first laid down the law, in the year of the world 3664, regarding colours to mark the different ranks of the people, and thence obtained the surname of Eadghadhach. His law required "one colour in the clothes of slaves ; two in the clothes of soldiers ; three in the clothes of goodly heroes, or young lords of territories ; six in the clothes of *ollavs* (professors); seven in the clothes of kings and queens".[26] The Egyptian rule, if not so strict, was still well-defined, and among the Romans, the Tyrian purple, as is well known, was exclusively reserved for emperors. The Chinese are also particular in this respect. But in India no colour, or combination of colours, seems to have been forbidden to any one class or individual from the highest to the lowest. In the total absence of old paintings, it is, however, impossible to obtain any evidence on the subject from ancient remains.

Style of dress : The Vedas afford no information regarding the form and shape of the Hindu dress. Probably, the majority of the people did then, as they do now, wear scarfs or plaid-like articles (*dhuti*) completed in the loom for immediate use, keeping them in position by twisting and tucking round the waist,—" a form of dress than which ", according to Col. Meadows Taylor, "anything more convenient to walk, to sit, or to lie in, it would be impossible to invent ".[27] The companions of Alexander noticed the same style of dressing nearly two and twenty centuries ago, and the costume of the masses at the present time differs in no respect from what the Greek writers indicated in their descriptions. But the question may be fairly asked, were kings, princes, and chieftains, the nobles and men of quality, of [82] former times

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26. *Clanmacnoise Annalists*, O'Donovan's translation, *Apud Catalogue of Antiquities* in the Royal Irish Academy I. 297.

27. *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1867.

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content with the simple *dhuti*, and did they not differ in any respect from the people at large in their habiliments ? Such a state of uniformity in dress is unknown even among the rudest community, and would be altogether improbable among a race who first established the system of castes. Nor is evidence wanting, circumstantial though it be, to show that a very different state of things existed among the Indian Aryans in early times. The mention of the needle and sewing in the *Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*,[28] cannot but suggest that even at that early period, made dresses, or such as had been prepared with the aid of scissors and needle, were not unknown. The word used is *sūcī*, the same which is used to this day to indicate a needle, and it is not likely therefore, that the word then meant only a thorn or other small pointed object. The existence of such words as needle (*sūcī*) and sewing (*sīvan*) in the Vedic language cannot be accounted for, except on the supposition that the people who used them, knew and had what they meant.[29] It may also be argued that it is very unlikely that the heroes of the Vedic times, who were able to forge and were in the habit of using armour and mail coats, never came to the idea of fashioning their clothes into made dresses.

Sewed dress in Sculpture : The sculptures of Sāñcī, Amarāvatī, and Orissa, leave no doubt on the subject. Though, owing to causes to be presently noticed, the bulk of the human figures they represent are nude, or very scantily clothed, still there are some which bear unmistakable evidence of the existence of made dresses. Among the Sāñcī bas-reliefs there are several figures dressed in tunics which could never have been made without the aid of needles. The tunics of the two archers on plate XLIII. Fig. 3, of Mr. Fergusson's work are particularly remarkable, inasmuch as the *cāpkāns* there shown, are unmistakable. (Illustration No. 93). Plates XXVIII. Fig. 1, XXXIV. Fig 2, XXXVI. Fig. 2 and XXXVIII. Fig. 1, are also worthy of notice as affording unquestionable evidences of the use of made dresses. A flag-bearer on an elephant has a dress, the sleeves of which are distinctly shewn. (Plate XL. Fig. 2). On a Buddhist rail-post from Buddha Gayā, which probably dates from a time earlier than the Sāñcī rail, there are two figures fully dressed from the neck to the middle of the leg, in a garment which appears strongly like the *jāmā* of the present day (Illustration No. 88). Turning from them to Amarāvatī, the reader will find, among an endless host of nudes and seminudes, figures, the shape of whose habiliments is unmistakably due to the tailor's art. (Plates LXVI and LXXXIV. Fig. 2). The figures of Buddha and of priests are also everywhere clothed in a decent attire from the neck to the feet, though in their case the habit seems to be formed of loose plaids thrown lightly over the person, and not needle-made. The sculptures of Orissa offer even more positive proofs. In the Queen's

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28. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II, p. 288 ; IV. p. 60.

29. "*Sīvyatu apaḥ sūcyā chedyamānayā*", "may she sew the work with a needle, that is not capable of being cut or broken, with one, of which the stitches will endure, in like manner as clothes and the like wrought with a needle last a long time, according to the commentator". Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II. 288.

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palace (*Rāṇinaur*) among the rock cut caves of Udayagiri, there is a statue, four feet six inches in height, cut out of the solid rock, which is dressed in a close-fitting tunic or *cāpkān*, with the skirts hanging down four inches below the knee, and having sleeves down to the wrist. According to Rev. T. Acland,[30] over the *cāpkān*, there was " a short shirt of scale armour ", the sleeves of which reached the elbow. This, however, is not now visible. A light scarf passes round the waist and over the forearms, the ends floating in the air, exactly in the way in which the Hindus throw the scarf on their persons in the present day. A girdle or *komarband* round the waist holds, on the left side, a short sword. The head is partially mutilated, but there are traces on it of a twisted turban. The legs and the feet are enclosed in thick, high boots or buskins. The figure has suffered by long exposure to rain and sun, but enough is preserved in the Illustration No. 94 to show that the coat of the figure is made unmistakably of sewed cloth. If the arguments regarding the age of the Udayagiri caves, elsewhere adduced, be tenable, the figure is over two and twenty centuries old, and at that period, the Buddhists evidently knew the use of made dresses. The habit is so entirely Indian in its character, that none will venture to spy in it any resemblance to the *chiton*, the *chlamys* or such other vestments as the soldiers of Alexander brought to India, [31] even if it were possible to suppose that it would be at once imitated in stone many hundreds of miles away from the place where it was first exhibited, and the inveterately conservative Indians could be imagined to have resigned, against the common instinct of civilized man in every part of the world, their national attire at the first sight of a foreign garb. The tunic may be compared to that of the Assyrian foot soldier, but its sleeves are long and come down to the wrist, whereas the Assyrian sleeve, as far as can be made out from Layard's plates, never reached below the elbow, leaving the forearm bare. The boots are particularly worthy of notice, as nothing of the kind has anywhere else been seen in India of so old a date. Three warriors at Amarāvatī are habited very nearly in the same way, but without the boots. For ready reference I have copied [83] as much of two of them as is visible in Mr. Fergusson's plates. (Illustrations Nos. 90 and 91). Among the sculptures on the temples of Bhuvaneśvara, there are also several representations of needle-made dresses.

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30. *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India*, p. 120.

31. It may be remarked *en passant* that, according to Plutarch, instead of Alexander teaching the Asiatics the use of made dresses, that hero himself adopted an Asiatic dress. He first put on a Parthian mode. He thought however, "the habit made too stiff and exotic an appearance, and therefore took not the breeches, or the sweeping train ; but adopting something between the Median and Persian mode, contrived vestments more pompous than the former, and more majestic than the latter. At first he used this dress only before the barbarians, or his particular friends within doors ; but in time he came to wear it when he appeared in public, and sat for the despatch of business". Langhorne's *Plutarch*, p. 483. Of course this was most probably done with a view to conciliate the conquerred people ; but it is not very favourable to the theory of Greek dress having been readily adopted by the latter.

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A basso-relievo horseman in the dancing hall of the Great Tower, is dressed in a perfect *jāmā* of the pattern to be seen on the Rajput horsemen figured in Col. Tod's *Rajasthān*. Its date, however, is doubtful. Several statuettes on the Mukteśvara temple are dressed in petticoats or kilts, the Indian *ghāgrā*, held round the waist by a jewelled girdle or zone. The outline of this habit is so well- defined that it leaves no doubt in the mind of its shape and form being due to scissors and needles. The statuette represented in Illustration No. 83, offers a remarkable instance of this habit. The bust of the figure is enclosed in a tight bodice such as is now in common use in many parts of India, and a long scarf, the substitute for a Grecian himation and the North Indian *uḍnā* or *cādar*, is thrown over the shoulders, with its two ends floating in the air. As the figure shewn in the plate is that of Annapūrṇā, a form of Durgā, offering a cake in a ladle to her lord, Śiva, it is impossible to suppose that the artist has dressed the goddess in a foreign garb, even if it could be shown that foreign models of the kind were accessible to him. The *pāyajāmā* noticed above (Illustration No. 76), is held round the waist by a string with a chain girdle over it, in the same way as Muhammadan women now wear it, but there is a piece of cloth passed between the thighs and tucked behind, probably also so secured in front, the use of which appears quite inexplicable, unless it be assumed to be an imitation of the cloth which wrestlers use over their short-drawers to tie their body firmly. The short-drawers on the same temple, shewn in Illustration No. 80, though well-defined on the figure, appear to be doubtful, as they have besides the longitudinal piece noticed above, a cross belt tied a little above the hip-joint, very much in the same way as the figures of the shepherd Kṛṣṇa are dressed at Vṛndāvana in the present day, and in their case it is the *dhuti* that is arranged so as to represent short-drawers, and no sewed cloth is used. The drawers shown in Illustration No. 85, though divested of the cross piece, are also doubtful. Among the Ajaṇṭā frescoes, " there is a picture of two holy men, one of them is touching the head of an elephant; he holds a cup in his left hand, and wears a long robe reaching to his feet, with very full loose sleeves; the other, who has a nimbus round his head, has an elaborate drapery in folds like that of a Greek statue ".[32] In the earlier Satī memorial stones, and in sculptures on the Hullabeed Temple in Mysore, females appear in bodices tied in front. According to the *Śāradā Tilaka* the women of Guzerat used to button their bodices with gems below the hips. [33] And in all these occur proofs of the use of the needle in the formation of dresses.

Opinions of Buchanan Hamilton, &c. : It is not to be denied that these instances are few, but their evidence as far as it goes, is authentic and unmistakable, and, I venture to think, cannot be gainsaid. The nature of the Indian climate is such that for nine months in the year all dresses are more or less unpleasant, and even the British soldier here feels, in April and May, more comfortable without his shirt than with it, and, if not prevented by military discipline, would gladly throw it aside ; it is not remarkable, therefore,

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32, Col. Meadows Taylor, *Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1867.

33. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre* II. 384.

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that the natives should confine themselves to the smallest amount of clothing that decency and the habits of the country permit. But that does not suffice for a universal conclusion as to the total absence of all made dresses. At any rate the instances quoted are enough to set aside the theory first started by Buchanan Hamilton,[34] and since adopted by Drs. Muir[35] and Watson,[36] regarding the Muhammadan origin of the Indian shaped dress as altogether untenable.

Sanskrit names for tailors : It has been somewhere said that had the ancient Hindu had needle-made garments, they would have had in their language names for them as well as for tailors ; but that they had none such in Sanskrit. This is, however, not the case. In the *Vocabulary* of Amara Siṃha, there are two words for workers with needle, one applying exclusively to those who confined their profession to darning, and the other to general tailoring.[37] The first is *tunnavāya*, a word very similar to *tantuvāya* "a weaver", and the other, *saucika* or *sūcika*, general worker with the needle. The profession of the latter was of sufficient importance to necessitate the establishment of a separate tribe, and a mixed class, the lawful issue of Vaiśyas by Śūdra women, was, according to the ancient law-book of Uśanas, destined to live by it, and other manual arts.[38] These bore the distinctive tribal name of *Sauci* or needlemen.

It is not to be denied that in Bengal, with the exception of the *Ācāryas* who are employed in making dresses for idols, and noted for their expertness in darning, tailoring is now the special profession of Musalmans ; but elsewhere the case is not so. Mr. Sherring observes : "In addition to the Mahommedans engaged in this calling, there is a considerable number of Hindus of [84] an inferior caste, who pursue it likewise. They are a separate tribe, and are divided into seven sub-castes or clans, as follows :— 1. Śrī Bāstab ; 2. Nām Deo ; 3. Tāñcāra ; 4. Dhaneś ; 5. Panjābi ; 6. Gour ; 7. Kantak". An eighth is also found in Benares named Tākseri.[39]

Sanskrit names of made dresses : As regards the names of made dresses, it is to be observed that the forms of the ancient garments having become obsolete for centuries, their names have likewise fallen into disuse, and what formerly indicated particular forms are now accepted as common terms for dress. There are, nevertheless, some words, the import of which cannot be mistaken, such as *kañcuka*, *kañcolika*, *aṅgika*, *colaka*, *cola*, *kurpāsaka*, *adhikāṅga*, *nīvi*, &c. The most important of these is the first. It is defined as a soldier's dress, shaped like a bodice, a made garment for the body, hanging either

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34. Martin's *Eastern India* II. 699.
35. *Sanskrit Texts*, V. 462.
36. *Textile Manufactures of India*, 11.
37. *tantuvāyaḥ kuvindaḥ syāttunnavāyastu saucikaḥ /*
tunnaṃ chinnaṃ vayati // Amarakośa.
38. śūdrāyāṃ vaiśyasaṃsargāt vidhinā sūcakaḥ smṛtaḥ /
sūcakādviprakanyāyāṃ jātastakṣaka ucyate //
śilpakarmāṇi cānyāni prāsādalakṣaṇaṃ tathā //
ityauśanasaṃ dharmaśāstram //
39. *Hindu Castes and Tribes of Benares*, p. 341.

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as low as the hip or lower down to the legs, i. e., a jacket or a coat. The word *sannāha* used in its definition, [40] and which is used for a mail coat, as well as a coat of quilted cotton, has led to its being occasionally confounded with the *varma* or chain-mail, and in some modern dictionaries, it is described as " an iron garment for the protection of the body from arrows " ; but that it was formerly made of cloth is evident from its having been used by other than warriors. The sages and hermits, who came to the great coronation feast of Yudhiṣṭhira, are described in the *Mahābhārata* as being dressed in turbans and *kañcukas*,[41] and in their case it would be inconsistent to accept the coat as a *hauberk* or a *cuirass*. The immediate, ordinary, everyday attendants on kings, who should always be old, are also said to be so altered, and from various descriptions it would seem that the garment was made of cloth in shape of the well-known Indian *jāmā*. The ordinary term for the eunuchs, who guard the *zanana* of a king, is *kañcukins* or " persons clothed with the *kañcuka* ", and it is not to be believed that they generally moved about in chain-mail, or solid breast-plates. In the *Ratnāvalī* of Śrīharṣa, a warder of this class offers protection under the folds of its *kañcuka* to a dwarf, who had been frightened out of his wits by a little monkey getting loose from its chains and gambolling about,[42] and this could not have been possible unless the coat had been of cloth with skirts hanging down close to the ankles. In the present day the flowing forepart of the *dhuti*, which looks very like the folds of the skirt of the *jāmā*, is called *koñcā*. Fair maidens in noble families are said to have, likewise, draped themselves in this garment to heighten their beauty, and it would be absurd to suppose that they used metallic jackets for such a purpose.

The diminutive of the *kañcuka* is *kañculikā*, and it is universally known to be a cloth bodice, and all respectable women and even goddesses are said to have worn it. Its modern name is *kāñculī*, and it is in common use all over India except among family women in Bengal. Over it is worn a thin, light jacket reaching to the waist, with sleeves to the elbows. This is called an *āṅgiā*, Hindi *kurtā*. To those who know the Prakrit language, this will at once appear to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *aṅgika*, the K being, by a well-known rule, changed into A. It is probable that the male jacket *aṅgarkhā* of the present day is a modification of the same word, unless it be a corruption of *aṅga*, body and *rakṣā*, protection. In Wilson's *Dictionary* the word *cola* is explained as " a short jacket or bodice " ; but it was more like a waistcoat, something closely resembling a *fatui*, or *sadri* of the Mahommedans, for Indian tailors still call the *torso* or the body part of a coat *colā*, and its appendages *āstin*, sleeve, and *dāman*, skirts, and the Sanskrit *colaka* is explained to be a breast-plate.

The word *nīvi* is also remarkable. It is the name of the tape with which drawers (*pāyajāmā*) or the petticoat (*ghāgrā*) is tied round the waist. It could not have had an existence in the language if there had been no *pāyajāmā* or *ghāgrā* to tie.

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40. *bhaṭādeścolākṛtiḥ sannāhaḥ.*
41. viviśuste sabhāṃ divyāṃ soṣṇīṣā dhṛtakañcukāḥ / —*Mahābhārata.*
42. antaḥ kañcukikañcukasya viśati trāsādayaṃ vāmanaḥ /

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Style of dressing : The ordinary style in which Uriyās of quality used to put on the *dhuti* twelve hundred years ago, is shewn in Illustrations Nos. 81 and 58. It does not differ from the mode of the present time except in the jewelled girdle with a pendant in front. This appendage, however, was probably introduced to heighten the artistic effect of the figures, and was not in common use. The statue of Kārtikeya in the great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara has the *dhuti* tied firmly round the waist, in keeping with the martial character of that divinity. Illustrations Nos 82,86 and 87, represent the *dhuti* as worn by common people and labourers. In Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, the same style is delineated with but slight differences. The *cādar* or scarf occurs plentifully in all the three places, and the mode of wearing it was the same as at the present day. For full dress the *cāpkān*-like tunic shown on the archers at Sāñcī was probably the prevailing garb for kings, princes, and men of quality ; while the long-flowing *jāmā* was kept for lower officers of state, warders, and attendants on kings. The scarf was invariably used, either thrown over the shoulders, or tied round the waist as a *komarband.* The body-cloth under the outer coat was probably the *dhuti* in the generality of cases, military officers of high standing occasionally replacing it by drawers of some kind or other. The *jāmā* was probably [85] brought by the Aryans from Central Asia, as it is still preserved with a few modifications and mutilations by the Pārsis as their national dress ; the modifications in their hands, however, have not been so extensive, as in that of the Moslims in India, who in Akbar's time adopted it as a court dress. The pattern preserved in Rājput sculptures figured by Tod, and on the horseman in the Bhuvaneśvara temple, is perhaps the nearest approach to the ancient habit ; it differs from the modern style principally in having short skirts.

The prevailing character of the ordinary female dress is very much like in the three places, and Mr. Fergusson's description of Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, apply eqally to Orissa. "The costume of the women", he says, "is difficult to describe, though this is principally in consequence of its scantiness. Both at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, the women always wear enormous bangles about the ankles and wrists,[43] and generally strings of beads round the neck, but their body clothing is generally limited to a bead belt round the body below the waist. From this belt slips of cloth are sometimes suspended, more generally at the sides or behind than in front, and sometimes also a cloth worn something like the *dhuti* of the male sex is also added, but when that is the case, it is represented in the sculptures generally as absolutely transparent".[44] It may be questioned, however, as to whether these habits were really the prevailing costumes of the country at the time, or only the conventional modes of representing the female form. Mr. Fergusson, who has devoted his attention for some time to Indian antiquity, is disposed to accept the first branch of the alternative, and it is certainly not easy to question the testimony of authentic graven stones. That testimony, however, is in direct conflict with the evidence of equally authentic written

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43. The same bangles are still in common use by the lower orders of the people in Orissa, but in sculptures they are generally replaced by articles of lighter and more elegant designs.

44. *Tree and Serpent Worship,* 92.

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records. The passage from the *Ṛgveda* quoted above (p. [78]) in which Uṣā is compared to "a youthful bride before her husband, uncovering, smiling, her bosom in his presence", depicts a peculiarity of Indian female dress, which it would be difficult to conceive, had altogether disappeared from the land when the sculptures were incised, and that a bead girdle was the only attire for the body left even to queens and princesses ; when improvements in other respects of social life were marked and progressing ; when people lived in two and three-storied houses of brick and stone, such as the Sāñcī bas-reliefs represent; when they drove about in carriages and wagons ; freely wrought in gold, silver, copper and iron ; and manufactured enough of woven fabrics of a superior quality, such as were exported to and greatly prized in the, for the time, highly civilized countries of the West. The veil, the bodice, and body-clothes, are repeatedly mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* ; and both in the Hindu and the Buddhist codes of law and morality, modesty of dress in women is everywhere insisted upon as a matter of paramount importance. In the ancient code of laws by Śaṅkha, there is an ordinance which says, "Let no woman go out of the house without permission ; nor without a sheet over her dress ; nor should she be allowed to run or walk very fast ; nor speak with male strangers, unless they be tradesmen, hermits, old people, or medical practitioners ; nor allow her navel to be seen : she should be so dressed that her clothing should hang down to the ankles ; and the breasts should never be exposed".[45] Gobhila enjoins that "women should always wear a sheet, the Grecian *peplos*, or the Roman *palla* over their body-clothes".[46] Hārīta says, "the first duty of woman (in the morning) is to bathe and put on (clean) clothes"[47] ; and among the most important daily duties of woman, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga enumerates, "cleanliness, attention to the duties of the house, the polish of the household utensils, bathing, dressing, plaiting the hair in braids, and putting flowers thereon"[48]. Other authorities are equally particular in this respect, and everywhere the most important duty enjoined on husbands and relatives is to supply good clothing to the ladies of one's house. Manu even goes the length of prohibiting husbands from looking at their wives when engaged in the mysteries of their toilette, and of denouncing the sight of nude females as sinful.[49] The veil, as a mark of propriety and

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45. nānuktvā gṛhānnirgacchet, nānuttarīyā na tvaritaṃ vrajet, na parapuruṣaṃ bhāṣetānyatra vaṇikpravrajitavṛddhavaidyebhyaḥ na nābhindarśayet, āgulphāt vāsaḥ paridadhyāt, na stanau vivṛtau kuryāt /
iti śaṅkhaḥ.
46. prāvṛtāṃ yajñopavītinīmiti *gobhilasūtram.*
47. ityupakrame snātvā vāsasī paridhāyeti *hārītasūtram.*
48. gṛhamedhyā bhavennityaṃ bhuṣaṇāni ca pūjayet /
nityasnānakṛtā veṇīmarcayet puṣpavāsasā //
ṛṣyaśṛṅgavacanam

49. *Manu.* IV, 45-53, "Let not a Brāhmaṇ, who desires manly strength, behold his wife setting off her eyes with collyrium, or anointing herself with oil, or when she is in *dishabille*, or bringing forth a child". IV. 44.

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modesty before seniors and strangers, is everywhere insisted upon, and this idea is carried to the ridiculous extent of prohibiting the offering of the funeral cake to a grandfather without first covering the cake to the mother with *kuśa* grass, as emblematic of her veil, for even in spirit she should not appear before her father-in-law with her face uncovered.[50] In the case of men not only is nudity prohibited, but even a single garment is held [86] insufficient for propriety. Manu forbids a single garment when at meals,[51] and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* ordains that "a man must neither bathe, nor sleep, nor rinse his mouth, whilst naked ; he must not wash his mouth, nor perform any sacred rite, with his waistband unfastened ; and he must not offer oblations to fire, nor sacrifice to the gods, nor wash his mouth, nor salute a Brāhmaṇa, nor utter a prayer with only one garment on".[52] In the *Sāmayācārika-dharma-sūtra* of Āpastamba, even a Brahmacārī, just returned from his noviciate, is required to dress himself with a *jāmā* (*kañcuka*) over his body-clothes, and to move about with either shoes or pattens on.[53]

The Buddhists are equally particular in this respect, and have many positive injunctions against impropriety in dress. Mr. Fergusson suspects that the story given in the *Dulva* of a lewd priestess, who created great scandal by wearing in public a piece of mulsin of so thin a texture that she appeared naked, and the canons which say, that to go about with thin dress on is absolutely immoral, are of modern origin ; but notwithstanding the lavish freedom with which the theory of interpolation has been of late worked out in support of particular ideas, it is not at all likely that anybody will attribute the simile in the *Ṛgveda* to a mischievous tampering with the original by interested and unscrupulous Brāhmaṇs. The only reasonable inference that can be drawn from the passage is, that in the times of the *Ṛgveda*, the covering of the bust was deemed an essential element of female modesty by, at least, certain classes of the community ; and that that idea has been since kept alive by their descendants who composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and other later Sanskrit works, is so manifest in those records that little need be said in support of it. The greatest insult which the wicked Kurus could offer the Pāṇḍus, was to order their wife, Draupadī, to be disrobed in open court, and that lady in her anxiety, most piteously prays Kṛṣṇa to save her modesty. In the first century before Christ, Purūravas exclaims at the sight of his lady-love :

" Soft as the flowers, the timid heart not soon
Foregoes its fears. The scarf that veils her bosom

"Let him not blow the fire with his mouth, let him not see a woman naked, let him not throw any foul thing into the fire, nor let him warm his feet in it" *Manu* IV. 53.

50. patinaikena kartavyaṃ sapiṇḍīkaraṇaṃ striyāḥ /
sā gatā hi mṛtaikatvaṃ kuśairantarayan pitṛn //
śvaśurasyāgrato yasmāt śiraḥpracchādanakriyā /
putrairdarbheṇa sā kāryā māturabhyudayārthibhiḥ //
Gārgyaḥ

51. *Manu* IV. 45. 52. Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* III. 139.

53. Bühler's *Āpastamba*, 14.

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Hide not its fluttering, and the panting breast
Seems as it felt the wreath of heavenly blossoms
Weigh too oppressively ".[54]

Even woodland maidens at the time could not go about without a covering for their bust, and in the *chef d'oeuvre* of Kālidāsa, Śakuntalā complains of her bodice being too tightly tied about her chest : whereupon the king remarks :—

" This youthful form whose bosom's swelling charms
By the bark's knotted tissue are concealed,
Like some fair bud close folded in its sheath,
Gives not to view the blooming of its beauty ".[55]

In the original Sanskrit, the mode of tying the bodice by a tape behind the neck is distinctly indicated.

That there were certain races or tribes then, as there are to this day, who, like the Kukis, the Paṭuas and the Gonds wore little or no clothing, is of course a fact not to be questioned. But it is more than probable that they were then, as now, only wild savage tribes who skirted the civilization of the Aryans, and did not represent the social condition of the country : certain it is, that they were not the builders of the Sāñcī gateways, nor of the Amarāvatī rails, nor of the temples of Bhuvaneśvara.

The annals of the Śākya race as preserved in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, represent them to have belonged to the foremost of the Aryan race, the Kṣatriyas, whose mode of life, if any faith is to be reposed on those records, was entirely different from that of the Paṭuas and of the Kukis. When Siddhārtha retired from home, he went forth, it is said, in the full court-dress of a prince, which he exchanged for the humble yellow vestment of a hermit, when he arrived at a neighbouring wood. If the sculptures are to be accepted without any qualification, the whole of these records must be entirely rejected, and we must believe that kings and princes, as shewn on Mr. Fergusson's plate, XXXI, went about with their bodies all uncovered, while the priests were clothed to the neck with scrupulous care ; that Siddhārtha gave up a narrow *dhuti* for something that covered his person from neck to ankles ; and that the attire of Māyādevī, the mother of Buddha, was somewhat less ample than the traditional " fig leaf " of Eve, consisting, as it does in sculptures, solely of a narrow bead cincture below the waist. The large Amarāvatī stone in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, represents Māyādevī reclining on what appears like a stuffed cushion spread on a cot and provided with a large pillow or *tākiā* ; she is attended by armed male guards, [87] and waiting maids holding *cauris* ; but she has on her person nothing beyond a bead girdle to cover her modesty.[56] A prince on one of the Amarāvatī stones is seated on a high-backed, cushioned chair with what looks like a stuffed pillow behind him, but he has on his person little beside a cloth girdle two or three inches round the waist by way of dress. His ladies, seated on

54. Wilson's *Vikrama and Urvaśī*, Act I. Sc. 1. II. p. 200.
55. Williams' *Śakuntalā*, p. 15.
56. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate LXXIV.

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chairs without cushions or pillows, content themselves with only girdles of beads.[57] Occasionally the bead girdle is supplemented by a narrow slip of cloth attached to it and hanging behind, but not in front. In one instance in the same collection a Rājā and his little boy are dressed in *dhutis* reaching close to the ankles, but the attendant ladies are all in absolute *dishabille*.[58] In the garden scenes at Sāñcī the lovers always appear dressed, but in two out of four instances, the belles are nude, the other two being decently draped.[59] Again, in a grand procession all the men are clothed and turbanned, and even the leading horse has a rich housing but, the ladies of the *rājā*, who look at the procession from the veranda and balcony of the palace, like the king's guards in a certain island in the South Pacific, whose full-dress consisted of a cocked hat and a pair of spurs, all confine their habiliments to a single article, a bead girdle amidst a gorgeous display of jewellery. One of them has a suspicious looking drinking cup in her hand, and a waiting maid is ready to replenish it from a covered flagon. It is worthy of note that in some instances, women wear a large thick band of cloth round the waist, but it never reaches so low as the hip joint. The so-called Dasyus too are everywhere represented as poor and degraded, but they are invariably dressed, decently enough for the position they occupy; but the women of the proud Aryans who despise them, and take the lead on every occasion, though richly jewelled, are generally devoid of all clothing. At Bhuvaneśvara the same scenes are by no means wanting; stuffed cushions shewing traces of buttons or tufting, which held the stuffing in its position, and large thick pillows (*tākiās*), such as are now held in requisition by men of rank and position, are repeatedly delineated, but the people who use them are mostly nudes. It must be observed also that in Sāñcī and Amarāvatī perfectly nude males have been carefully avoided, and at Bhuvaneśvara are comparatively few, whereas the female figure is very largely exhibited in all the three places in a state of nature, without any artificial covering. Had the nudity and spare clothing been due to race peculiarities, or tribal customs, they could not have been so markedly different among the two sexes. The habits and customs of the wild races now extant in different parts of the earth do not shew that where men and children have been clothed, the female sex has been left entirely without any garment. On the contrary, several primitive hill tribes in India and elsewhere, among whom the men and children go about without any covering for their persons, are particular in providing garbs of leaves or bark for their females; for there seems to exist even among them a sense of decency—a very imperfect and nebulous one no doubt, formed after their very primitive conditions—but still a sense of decency about covering the person, which prompt them to devise the means of doing so. A notable instance of this is offered by Col. Dalton in his interesting work on the *Ethnology of Bengal*. Noticing the Juāngs of Keunjhar, he says: "The females of the group had not amongst them a particle of clothing, their sole covering for purposes of decency consisted in a girdle composed of several strings of beads from which depended before and behind small curtains of leaves. Adam and Eve sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons. The Juāngs are not so far advan-

57. *Ibid.* plate XXXIII. 58. *Ibid.* plate XXXI. 59. *Ibid.* plate XXXVII.

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ced ; they take young shoots of the Āsan (*Terminalia tomentosa*) or any tree with young soft leaves, and arranging them so as to form a flat and scale-like surface of the required size, the sprigs are simply stuck in the girdle fore and aft, and the toilet is complete. The girls were well developed and finely formed specimens of the race, and as the light leafy costume left the outlines of the figure entirely nude, they would have made good studies for sculpture. . . . . Next day they came to tent at noon, and whilst I conversed with the males on their customs, language, and religion, the girls sat nestled together in a corner for a long time silent and motionless as statues, but after an hour or two elapsed, the crouching nymphs showed signs of life and symptoms of uneasiness, and, more attentively regarding them, I found that great tears were dropping from the downcast eyes like dew-drops on the green leaves. On my tenderly seeking the cause of their distress, I was told that the leaves were becoming dry, stiff, and uncomfortable, and if they were not allowed to go to the woods for a change, the consequences would be serious, and they certainly could not dance. It was a bright, dry day, and the crisp rustling, as they rose to depart, confirmed the statement ".[60] The tears of the Juāng nymphs are remarkably expressive. A similar instance is narrated by Lieutenant, afterwards Commodore, Lambert in the voyage of one of Her Majesty's ships in the Pacific Ocean. The ship was at anchor close by an island inhabited by savages, who used the smallest possible amount of clothing " that could be made to serve the purposes of decency ", and yet when they beheld the ship's crew jumping into the sea-water for a bath without any clothing on their person, they were sorely scandalised. Other instances it would be easy to adduce ; but they are not wanted. Taking the facts here noticed into consideration I am led to the conclusion that as regards [**88**] dress, the prevailing character of the bas-reliefs is due, not so much to ethnic, or social causes as to the exigencies of art. No doubt, the scantily clad Tamulian aboriginal races formed the great bulk of Buddhist congregations, and were more freely and plentifully represented on the monuments of their co-religionists than the Aryans, but their presence alone does not suffice to account for all the peculiarities noticed above. It is probable, therefore, that a conventional rule of art, such as has made the sculptors of Europe prefer the nude to the draped figure ; [61] or a prevailing desire to display the female contour in all its attractiveness ; or the unskilfulness of early art ; or the difficulty of chiselling drapery on such coarse hard materials as were ordinarily accessible in this country ; or a combination of some or of all those causes, exercised a more potent influence on the action of the Indian artist than ethnic peculiarities, in developing the human form in stone. There were, likewise, it is to be presumed, a sense of humour which manifested itself in oddities, caricatures, and grotesque representations, a longing for a display of variety, and a pruriency

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60. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 155.

61. This is well illustrated in the nude statue of Achilles set up in honor of the Duke of Wellington, in Hyde Park to the West of Apsley House, and in that of Charles II, in the great quadrangle of Chelsea Hospital, in which the "Merry Monarch" is dressed as a Roman commander.

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of imagination which made the males appear in dresses of diverse kinds, and the females in a state of nature. At Bhuvaneśvara a religious sentiment, that of veneration for the creative energy of which some traits have been already noticed (p. [65]) and others will be referred to in a subsequent chapter, was evidently also brought to bear upon art, and to produce an effect highly offensive to good taste. But whether so or not, it would, I think, be as effectual to draw conclusions regarding the costumes of the ancient Indians solely and exclusively from the sculptures they have left behind them, as it would be for the New Zealander of Macaulay to do the same with reference to the Europeans of the 19th century from the collections of modern statuary in the Crystal Palace, the Kensington Museum and the Louvre.

The argument would apply with equal force to the sculptures of the ancient Egyptians. The paintings and painted bas-reliefs of those people unmistakably show that the higher classes among them were well and sumptuously clothed from the neck to the ankles, and yet their statues and unpainted sculptures entirely belie this. Kings, queens, high priests, and persons of rank appear in them with scarce anything better than rags to hide their nudity, and in many instances even those rags are wanting. The colossal statue of Minerva and that of king Asymandias at Thebes, have nothing more than each a strip of cloth from the hip to the middle of the thighs by way of dress.[62] The transparent clothing noticed by Mr. Fergusson at Sāñcī, which hides no part of the female form, occurs almost everywhere in Egypt, and in some of her most finished carvings. Among the bas-reliefs under the gallery of the western temple in the Island of Philae, in the sanctuary of the temple of Hermonthis and elsewhere, there are several figures of goddesses, or ladies of rank, seated on chairs, and decorated with rich head-dresses and ornaments in profusion round the neck, but totally devoid of clothing round the waist. The attendants and the priests before them are all decently draped.[63] It would be as reasonable to argue from them that the ancient Egyptians were ill-clad, as to deduce from the Sāñcī bas-reliefs that the Hindus therein represented, were a naked race. It is true, as justly observed by Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus* that " by nature man is a *naked animal,* and only in certain circumstances by purpose and device masks himself in clothes ". It may be true, likewise, as the same author endeavours to show, that " the first purpose of clothes was not warmth or decency, but ornament ;[64] and taking it in that light, it must follow that for decoration man must have clothes, and when he has once got it, his passion for ornament will alone suffice to make him retain it, despite even the " philosophical nakedness " of Shelley's friends,[65] or that of Carlyle which resulted in pictures of " a naked duke addressing a naked House of Lords, naked kings wrestling with naked women ", and other vagaries of fancy.[66]

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62. *Description de l' Egypte*, vol. II. plates 22-28.
63. *Loc. cit.*, vol. I, plates 22, 27 and 96.
64. "Not for either of these, but to hide the shame of sin", says the Bible.
65. Hogg's *Life of Shelley.* 66. *Sartor Resartus.*

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It is not to be denied that it is difficult to decide authoritatively the exact form of the female dress which prevailed from twelve to twenty centuries ago in India, but after a careful survey of the sculptures extant, and the notices to be met with in ancient Sanskrit records, I am disposed to believe that bulk of the women of the country wore the *sāḍī* ; that all who could afford it, added thereto a bodice ; that respectable women put on a jacket (*āṅgiā*) over the bodice, and covered the whole with a scarf or *cādar* ; and that some habited themselves with the petticoat (*ghāgrā*) or the drawers (*pāyjāmā*), along with the bodice, the jacket, and the scarf. These dresses were, however, not common all over India, for local peculiarities and custom undoubtedly gave preeminence to some of them over others at particular places ; but they were known and more or less in use by the people in every part of the country.

Dasyus : Mr. Fergusson has attempted to develop an ethnography of the races represented at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī from their costume ; but the deductions he has drawn do not appear to be well-founded, since the dresses depicted are, as I assume, themselves not always complete representations of what they originally [89] were when in use in a complete suit, and their evidence can go but little way to indicate the nationality of the figures on which they are placed. This remark applies particularly to the class which Mr. Fergusson denominates "the Dasyus". They "are[67] generally represented as people of the woods, living in thatched huts, wearing a small *dhuti* wrapped round the waist, and possessing no ornaments. Their head-dress consists occasionally of a plain skull-cap, but frequently of plaited or matted hair wound round the head, and tied on the crown in a conical form. Occasionally they allow the hair to hang behind in loose tresses. Most of them have beards : a few appear with shaven chins. They sit with their knees raised and legs crossed and tied round with a strip of cloth or a napkin, and are occupied in splitting wood or other domestic task ; occasionally navigating in rude canoes ; but they never seem to mix with the community at large, except for the observance of religious rites. They have invariably by them a chaffing dish with a blazing fire, a pair of tongs, and a bowl which, from its shape, appears to be made of the hard shell of the *gourd*. It was carried about hanging from the left hand. In one instance a man has a stand of the shape of a *moḍā*, over which he holds something which appears to me, from the tracing of writing on it, to be a scroll or a mass of written paper ; a companion of his is folding or unfolding a similar scroll or bundle, and a third is taking up some burning charcoal with his tongs. Mr. Fergusson, following General Cunningham, takes the first scroll to be a flagon from which the man is pouring something into his fire-pot and the second a fan with which the owner is enlivening his fire ; but the appearance of the scrolls and the position and action of the hands, according to several intelligent European gentlemen including two professional artists, are entirely against this supposition. Mr. Fergusson himself half suspects them to be hermits, and says they are

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67. The remarks which follow on the Dasyus are quoted from a paper of mine published in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1872. pp. 36 *et seq.*

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repeated in the Amarāvatī sculptures, but attributes it to scarcity of Dasyus at the time.[68] Some of these figures are repeated on the temples of Bhuvaneśvara. They appear old and emaciated, having by their sides a pair of tongs, a gourd pot, and a chaffing dish. The scene is scrupulously true to life, and may be found to this day, not only in every part of India, but even beyond it, and everywhere it represents an Aryan of the third order, i. e., a hermit or ascetic (*Vānaprastha*) seated at his ease, reading his prayer book, or attending to his domestic occupations, and not a non-Aryan. Adverting to some of these hermits on the shores of the Caspian Sea, M. de Pauly observes : " Ou trouve en outre a Bakou quelques adorateurs du feu, dont la personnalité est particulierement entéressante. L'aspect de ces feux perpétuels, sortant spontanément de la terre offre un coup d'oeil vraiment magique, surtout pendant la nuit ; dans le voisinage de ces feux se trouve une sorte de temple ou de couvent dans lequel les derniers débris des antiques adorateurs du feu, représentés par quelques vieux Indous desséchés, presque nus, semblables a des fantomes ambulants, pratiquent sur eux-memes leurs macérations contre nature, et célebrent leur culte idolatre, triste et misérable parodie de la doctrine de Tserdouchit ".[69]

Domestic Ties of Hermits : General Cunningham, from his thorough knowledge of Indian life, at once took the Sāñcī Dasyus for ascetics, and no one who has once seen groups of *Sannyāsī*s at Hurdwar, Benares, or other sacred places, could for a moment mistake them. The head-gear, the style of sitting, the tongs, the gourd, and the blazing fire, are so peculiar and characteristic, that I, as a Hindu perfectly familiar with the scene, cannot possibly mistake it, and have no hesitation in asserting that the Dasyus in such scenes are entirely imaginary. It might be said that the hermits of the present day are generally celibates, whereas the Dasyus of the Sāñcī tope have women and children about them. But the objection is of no moment, as there is ample evidence to show that the ancient Aryan hermits or sages were not altogether free from domestic ties. According to Manu, " when the father of a family perceives his muscles become flaccid, and his hair grey, and sees the child of his child, let him seek refuge in a forest : abandoning all food eaten in towns and his household utensils, let him repair to the lonely wood, committing the care of his wife to her sons, or accompanied by her, *if she choose to attend him.* Let him take up his consecrated fire, and all his domestic implements for making oblations to it, and departing from the town to the forest, let him dwell in it with complete power over his organs of sense and of action ".[70] This state of hermitage or *vānaprastha* was subsequently exchanged for that of the *Sannyāsī*, or houseless mendicant, but the distinction was rarely very rigidly observed, and the transition, when it did take place, was so gradual as to be imperceptible. Hence it is that ancient sages are generally described as living in woods and retired places, but not without women and children about them. Ajīgarta, according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Ṛgveda* lived with his wife and three sons in a wood. Kālidāsa makes the sage Kaṇva

68. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 208. 69. *Peuples de la Russie*, p. 148.
70. *Manu*, VI. 234.

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live in a wood with about half a dozen maidens, including Śakuntalā, in his hermitage. Kāśyapa, in the same way, has his retreat full of women of different ranks, and a boy. Sītā is said to have lived in the hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha with her two sons who were born there; and [**90**] almost every ancient story book has its tale of hermitages having feminine and juvenile residents. No doubt those works treat of avowed fictions, but it is not to be supposed that their authors outraged the sense of propriety of their readers by describing hermits having wife and children and female lodgers in their cells, if they had not found such things to be common in their times. The Vedas, the Upaniṣads,the great epics, and the Purāṇas, also describe sages, *ṛṣis*, and *munis* having females about them ; and the presence of such persons cannot, therefore, be taken as inconsistent with ancient Indian ascetic life.

Story of Dukula and Piliyuk : 'The same practice also prevailed among the Buddhists and priestesses or female mendicants—the *Semnai* of Clement of Alexandria—are frequently named in the *Avadānas*, the *Jātakas* and other legendary writings as living in woods. In Mr. James D' Alwis' translation of the *Aṭṭāṅgula-Vaṃśa* there is a remarkable instance of this. As the story there given is of importance, in connexion with the question at issue, and cannot readily be had for reference, I shall quote it entire.[71] It forms a part of the *Sāma Jātaka*, and runs as follows :—

'Once upon a time when Piliyuk was king of Banaras, Gotama was born unto a hermit, named Dukūla, and was named Sāma. After the son had grown up, Dukūla and his wife Parikā went one day into the jungle in quest of roots and fruits. There they encountered a storm, and being much wet, were obliged to take shelter under a tree close to a hole inhabited by a malignant serpent. Whilst the venerable pair were standing there, dripping from their garments, a cobra issued a venomous blast, whereby they were instantly struck blind. In this helpless condition their son discovered and conducted them home and began to nourish and maintain them with the affection of a dutiful son. Some time afterwards the king went upon a hunting expedition, and rested on the banks of the Migasammata, not far from the hermitage. He had not, however, been long there before he saw the footsteps of deer that came down to the river to drink ; and, thinking that he could kill them, lay in ambush. Immediately a remarkably handsome person with a pitcher came down to the river surrounded by a flock of deer. Amazed at the sight and wishing to ascertain whether it was a nymph of the forest whom he thus beheld, he issued a dart, which, alas ! severely wounded him. In the agonies of death the wretched man put his pitcher by him, and, falling on the ground, began to exclaim, "Who can be the enemy of a person that was devoted to the religious duties of the eight *śīlas* and ten *kuśalas* ? Who, indeed, could desire the flesh of an innocent person like myself ?" Hearing these cries, the king approached his victim, proclaimed that he was Piliyuk, king of Banaras, explained the motive with which he had shot him, and desired to know who or what he was, Whereupon Sāma replied, "I was born in this forest, I am the only prop and support of two parents, both aged and blind. Little do they know of the mishap that has happened to me. They will indeed

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71. Since the above was written the story has been separately published in England.

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be much grieved and distressed when they find me thus delaying. I alone gave them what they desired. Twice daily have I washed them, and thrice have I fed them. Who indeed will give them a drop of water even after asking ten times ? They will be parched like fishes out of water. Who, alas ! will succour and help those, who, probably, at this very moment are anxiously waiting my return, and are watching for the first sounds of my footsteps ?" Thus lamenting, he began to weep, not for himself, but for the destitution in which he would leave his feeble parents. Horror seized the king at the reflection that his conduct was calculated to deprive of life three persons who had exercised the duties of *Brahmacarya*, and that he could not escape the torments of hell, if they all died ; and, touched by the lamentations of the youth, he promised to succour and help his parent until his death. Sāma, relying upon his faithful promises, blessed the king, and, desiring him to convey his respects and the sad tidings of his death to his blind parents, closed both his eyes, and dropped down as if he had expired.

'Instantly a goddess named Bahusodarī, who had been Sāma's mother in his tenth birth before the present, perceiving the danger to the hermit boy and also to his parents, as well as the king, made her appearance on the spot ; and, after rebuking the king for his conduct and advising him how he should behave towards Sāma's parents, watched over Sāma.

'The king, sorely afflicted with grief, picked up the pitcher which had been filled up by Sāma, and, taking the path which had been directed, reached the humble cottage of the blind pair, who sat anxiously watching the return of their son. They now heard the sound of advancing footsteps, but, knowing that they were not those of their son, inquired, "who approached the door ?" The stranger announced that he was Piliyuk, the king of Banaras, and entered with them into a conversation, in the course of which he delicately disclosed their son's fate and the particulars connected with it, offering at the same time to succour them through life. Unbounded was now the grief of the hapless parents, to which they gave utterance in the language of despair, falling down, and each bitterly crying, "Oh son Sāma, from the day I have lost my sight, have I, by thy unceasing attentions, felt that I have acquired divine eyes. Where hast thou now gone ? How shall I henceforth live ? Son, thou hast never done nor conceived any evil towards us, or any other being. Thou hast never uttered a falsehood. [91] Thou hast never committed life-slaughter ; ever hast thou maintained the observance of the *pañcaśīla*". The king tried his utmost to console them, but without success. Afterwards, turning to the king, the blind parents addressed him, saying, that they had no faith in his proferred protection, and that all the favour they desired was to be led to the place where Sāma lay. The king complied by leading the point of a stick which the blind ones held in their hands. When they reached their destination, the bereaved parents again gave vent to their feelings by much weeping, and praying to the titular gods. The mother, on examination, finding that all signs of life had vanished, gave utterance to the following *Satya Kiriyā* :—"If it be true that my son Sāma unceasingly devoted himself to the duties of *Brahmacariya*, and that he has ever maintained the ordinances of the *Aṭṭha śīla* ; and if it be also true that I have entertained no other faith except Buddhism, and that I have ever performed *tilakunu Bhavana*, may, by the power of those

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truths, my son receive life". By the influence of this *Satya Kiriyā*, and by the might of the gods, Sāma moved from one side to another. When the father had also uttered a similar *Satya Kiriyā*, Sāma again moved to a side ; and by the power of the goddess already named, he revived, and the parents received their lost sight. Instantly the morning sun arose, and Sāma dismissed the astonished king, after preaching to him on the merits of nourishing one's parents, and above all of leading a religious life, as they were testified to by his miraculous restoration to life'.[72]

'This story will no doubt appear as a Buddhist adaptation of the anecdote of Daśaratha and the blind sage Andhaka as given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ; but it has been reproduced in stone on the standing pillar of the Western Gateway of the Sāñcī tope, and we see in it Gotama as Sāma wounded by the king, and his parents, the hermit and his wife, dressed in the same garb which has been assigned to the Dasyus. According to the *Jātaka*, Sāma recovered from his wounds and was restored to his parents, as is shown in the sculpure. The *Rāmāyaṇa* kills the boy, and sends his parents to the funeral pyre, to immolate themselves.

The following is Mr. Griffith's version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story as related by the king to the blind hermits :—

" High-minded saint, not I thy child,
" A warrior, Daśaratha styled.
" I bear a grievous sorrow's weight
" Born of a deed which good men hate.
" My lord, I came to Sarju's shore,
" And in my hand my bow I bore
" For elephant or beast of chase
" That seeks by night his drinking place.
" There from the stream a sound I heard
" As if a jar the water stirred.
" An elephant, I thought, was nigh :
" I aimed, and let an arrow fly.
" Swift to the place I made my way,
" And there a wounded hermit lay
" Gasping for breath : the deadly dart
" Stood quivering in his youthful heart.
" I hastened near with pain oppressed :
" He faltered out his last behest,
" And quickly, as he bade me do,
" From his pierced side the shaft I drew
" I drew the arrow from the rent,
" And up to heaven the hermit went
" Lamenting, as from earth he passed,
" His aged parents to the last.
" Thus unaware, the deed was done :
" My hand, unwitting, killed thy son.
" For what remains, O, let me win
" Thy pardon for my heedless sin ".[73]

' Mr. Fergusson has published this scene in his great work (plate XXXVI), but he says that " it represents, one of those transactions between the Hindus and Dasyus which have probably only a local meaning, and to which therefore, it is improbable we shall ever be able to affix a definite mening ".[74] To those, however, who are familiar with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Jātaka*, the improbability will give place to unmistakable certainty, the only difficulty being the presence of a companion of the king in the

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72. *Aṭṭāṅgula-vansa*, pp. 167 *et seq.*

73. Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. p. 249. Compare with this another version in his *Specimens of Old Indian Poetry*, p. 12.

74. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 138.

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scene of action, due probably to the Buddhist version having included such a personage in the tale whose name has been omitted in Mr. D'Alwis' abstract as unimportant. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the king went to the wood in his car and was attended by his charioteer. General Cunningham takes the blind hermits to be ascetics, and observes, " I am unable to offer any explanation of this curious scene, but it may possibly have reference to some event in the early life of Śākya ".[75] Mr. Fergusson appeals to the scene as an evidence of the Aryans or Hindus having formerly indulged in the wicked pastime of shooting the inoffensive Dasyus ; but if my identification be correct, the inference will of course lose its only foot-hold.

Domestic Duties of Hermits : Exception might also be taken to my identification of the so-called Dasyus with such hermits on the ground of its being inconsistent for such people to engage in domestic and pastoral occupations. But the laws of Manu do not at all prohibit such pursuits. On the contrary they ordain that the retired hermit should not only live in a hut and go about dressed, but even horde food sufficient to last for a year. He should [92] also provide means for the performance of various rites and ceremonies, make oblations on the hearth with three sacred fires, not omitting in due time the ceremonies to be performed at the conjunction and opposition of the moon, and also to " perform the sacrifice ordained in honour of the lunar constellations, make the prescribed offering of new grains, and solemnize holy rites every four months, and at the winter and summer solstices ".[76] Nothing has been said by Manu as to the propriety or otherwise of ascetics keeping cattle, but the epics and the Purāṇas clearly show that the ancient sages were partial to milk, and the saintly character of Vaśiṣṭha was not in any way opposed to his keeping the famous cow Nandinī. The rites enjoined on them could not be performed without an ample supply of milk. The Buddhist ascetics, likewise, lived in huts, and not seldom collected money enough to dedicate images and topes built at their cost. During their four months of *Vasso* fast they lived in monasteries together with their religious sisterhood.

Worship of Nagas : ' Some of the hermits in the Sāñcī bas-reliefs are engaged in worshipping the five-headed Nāga ; but as the Hindu recognised in it an emblem of the sempiternal divinity Ananta, and the Buddhist, a race of superhuman beings, worthy of adoration, devotion to it would not be by any means unbecoming a hermit, who is required to observe all the necessary regular and periodical rites and ceremonies.

Features of Dasyus : ' The last and most important argument of Mr. Fergusson in support of the non-Aryan origin of the Dasyus is founded upon their features ; but in Sāñcī the figures are generally so small, so rough, and so weather worn, that their indications of the aboriginal broad face and flat nose cannot be relied upon. That the appearance of youth, and beauty, and rank, and wealth, should be different from age, decay, decrepitude, and sqalid poverty, is a fact which none will question, and therefore what are taken in the sculptures for ethnic peculiarities, may be entirely due to a desire to mark the distinctions of condition.

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75. *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 225.

76. *Manu* VI. 9-10.

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Origin of the word Dasyu : ' It may be added that the term Dasyu itself is Aryan, and indicates an Aryan, and not a non-Aryan, race. According to Manu " all those tribes of men who sprung from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahmā, but who became outcasts by having neglected their duties, are called Dasyus or plunderers ".[77] And the designation therefore fails to convey the idea which the learned author of the *History of Architecture* wishes to attach to it '. At Bhuvaneśvara, Puri, and Koṇārak, some of the statues (not of Dasyus) are from four to five feet high, and many of the statuettes and bas-reliefs are from eighteen inches to three feet in height, and their faces, contour and style, as already stated in the preceding chapter, are of an Indo-Aryan caste.

Coiffure : Next to clothing for the body, the arrangement of the hair or the decoration of the head, forms the most important element of dress. It has in all ages and in every state of society engaged particular attention, and among savages has often had precedence of most other modes of ornamenting the person. With females, it has been a subject of the most earnest solicitude and the extravagance to which they have been led in this respect under the fascinating sway of fashion, has often been made the subject of the satire of unpitying ridicule, and severe reproof. But the lashings of the wit and the anathemas of the moralist, have invariably proved too weak to set the hair of the head, the loveliest ornament bestowed by nature on the human form, free of unnatural restraints and the most grotesque disfigurements. The glossy ringlets of a young lady drooping gracefully in their native luxuriance, is a style too genuinely beautiful and natural to be let alone by art ; and in their place, therefore, the fair sex has everywhere resorted to the most extraordinary, the most extravagant, and the most fantastic contrasts conceivable. In Europe braids and plaits steeped in oils, pastes and pomades, or the tower, the commode, and the chignon of outlandish piles of borrowed hair powdered and curled and bolstered up with bows and pads and basket frames, have always reigned in some form or other ; and in India they seem to have exercised their potent sway with no less vigour and influence. Even in the early days of the *Ṛgveda*, the arrangement of the hair was a subject of concern, and peculiarities were often noted. Thus, Rudra is praised as having braided hair (*Kapardin*).[78] Puṣā, in the same way, has a braid on his head,[79] and the epithet, is, likewise, applied to the Tritsus.[80] In the tenth Maṇḍala, a young female, handsome and brilliant, is said to wear four of these braids. " *Catuṣkapardā yuvatiḥ supeśā ghṛtapratīkā vayunāni vaste* ", and in VII. 33.1, the priests of the family of Vaśiṣṭha are said to wear four of these braids ".[81] The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* contain frequent notices of the braid, and of the neglect of the coiffure as a mark of grief or violent excitement. Draupadī, when insulted by Duḥśāsana in open court, resolved never again to dress her hair until Bhīma should keep his promise, and tie it up with his hands reeking in the blood of the offender, and had her resolution carried out after the lapse of thirteen years. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a single braid was the most [93] approp-

77. *Ibid.* X. 45. 78. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, I. 301.
79. *Ibid.* III. 496. 80. *Ibid.* IV. 171. 81. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, V. 462.

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riate mark of anguish for women during their separation from their husbands, and the Yakṣa, in the *Meghadūta*, is all anxiety to—

"—Urge his trembling fingers to unbind
The mourner's braid of hair for his long absence twined ".[82]

Dressing of the Hair in Sculpture : Manu lays down rules for tonsure, and the different modes of arranging the hair on the crown of the head proper for different orders of the people.[83] Later Sanskrit authors are profuse in their praises of the various forms of coiffure in vogue in their times ; but their descriptions are not precise, and it is not always easy to make out the forms they allude to. This is, however, not much to be regretted, as the available sculptural evidence on the subject is ample. The artists of Orissa seem to have paid particular attention to the subject, and their works represent the dressing of hair and head-dresses in great variety. The specimens shown in Illustrations Nos. 95 to 110, will convey some idea of the forms which the Uriyās, twelve hundred years ago, thought the most attractive and elegant. The simplest and most natural of these was the chignon represented in No. 95, taken from the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. It occurs on a great number of heads, and is generally ornamented with a shield-like boss of gold on the coil, and three double strings of pearls or gold chains on the head. It still prevails in Orissa and in some parts of the Southern Presidency, where the dancing girls seem particularly attached to it. From its bulk, it is evident that some padding, or stuffing, or a profuse admixture of false, or borrowed, hair was used to swell it out. In the present day, bits of rag or braided strings of false hair are the stuffings commonly resorted to. No. 96., from the Temple of Mukteśvara, offers a variety of this form in which the ornaments are replaced by a single string of pearl encircling the head like a fillet, and the chignon proper has two gradually receding tiers of hair placed over it. In front two thick locks made to curl upwards on the temples. On the Great Tower, several male heads have the same style of chignon, but without the curls. The next most common form is shewn in No. 97. It resembles the modern European chignon as copied in No. 98 from a plate of Parisian fashions in the *Illustrated London News* for 1867, so closely in its make and outline, that little need be said to describe it. It is worthy of remark, however, as affording a notable instance of how fashion repeats itself even under such dissimilar circumstances as those of Orissa in 667 and of Europe in 1867 A. D., and how little taste as regards chignons in the boudoirs of Paris in the present day, differs from that of the belles of Cuttack twelve hundred years ago. A form very similar to it was in vogue in Bengal in the last century ; but it has been altogether discarded now. Some male figures at Bhuvaneśvara have head-dresses of a similar, but not exactly the same, form. The chignon of Annapūrṇā at Mukteśvara (Illustration No. 83), is peculiar and seems to have been uncommon. There are some loose curls on the left temple, the counterparts of which are not to be seen on the opposite side. The style shewn in No. 99 was common enough. Its great peculiarity is, that the chignon, instead of being placed behind the head, is brought to the left side, and made to rest on the shoulder. It is tied across by a jewelled band having a

82. Griffith's *Scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 177. 83. *Manu*, II. 27, 35, 65.

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pendant star on each side. A fringe of short hair covers the upper part of the forehead, and upon it is set a triangular tiara of jewels. In the *Ṛgveda* the descendants of Vaśiṣṭha are described as wearing their chignons sideways, but in their case the right side was preferred.[84] In the present day many Europeans must have noticed Madrasi *āyāhs* with their coil of hair on the left side, and the dancing girls of Oudh, until very recently, patronised the same fashion. Illustration No. 102 exhibits a modification of this style. The hair in it is parted into two coils, and placed on the two sides, leaving the occiput flat. This is common both to men and women. In Illustration No. 103, the true chignon disappears, and is replaced by a fantastic cone curling and twisting upwards behind the head ; and the form is further modified in No. 100, in which the hair is tied by a jewelled band two or three inches from the back of the head, and then braided into an enormous ball about two-thirds the size of the head. To preserve these coiffures undisturbed, the ladies who patronised them, must have abjured reclining as long as it was necessary to keep them in position.

Passing over a great number of modifications of these styles, of which no drawings have been taken, I come to Illustration No. 101, in which the coiffure is raised to an angle of 50 degrees, and tied round by a string of pearls. Upon the coil is a round button-like protuberance, but whether of hair or metal, it is difficult to make out. The forehead is encircled by a tiara. This form, without the tiara and button, may still be seen among the poorer classes of Uriyās, and the figures on which they have been seen, occupy positions which indicate that formerly it was likewise confined to the lower orders of the people.

The transition from an angle of 50 to the crown of the head was easy, and the forms in which the hair was arranged there, were various. The most common, and perhaps the most graceful of its kind, is shown in Illustration No. 104. It has [94] much the character of the military forage cap which was in use until the first quarter of this century, with the cheek strap passing across from the forehead backward. The strap is edged with two strings of pearls or beads, and has a metal button on the top. The brow has a double string of pearls with a star in the middle, and an ornament on each side very much like a peacock's crest. Judging from the character of the figures on which it occurs, I am disposed to think that this style was in fashion among the frail sisterhood of ancient Orissa. The lady shown in Illustration No. 58 has no strap, and only one string of pearls on her brow ; the upper coil of her chignon is larger and made of hair. Her male companion has his hair tied in the same way, but being short, is seen curling into a mass on the top of the tie. A modification of this style may be seen in Illustration No. 105, where the strap and crests are omitted, the pearls are replaced by a tiara, and the hair is entwined with oblique courses of what, in the present day in India, is gold lace or embroidered ribbon. Illustration No. 106 represents another modification in which the central coil is reduced in size and raised considerably above the crown, and the crests are supplanted by curling masses of hair.

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84. "The white-complexioned accomplishers of holy ceremonies, wearing the lock of hair on the right side, have afforded me delight", &c Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. 86.

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Illustrations Nos. 59, 60, 62 and 64 show other variations of fashionable coiffure, and Illustrations Nos. 63 and 83 such as are appropriate to gods and goddesses.

In some cases the hair, instead of being massed into a ball or coil of some kind or other is, allowed to hang in loose masses on the back,[85] or woven into one or more braids and allowed to hang behind, very much in the style common in Persia and Turkey. Occasionally the outer-most plaids are allowed to fall behind the ears and float on the breast. Sanskrit poets are fond of dwelling at great length on the charms of these braids, but with a sad want of gallantry, or with a silly poetical conceit, they generally compare them to hissing serpents. In Illnstration No. 107 these braids are twisted into six rays, and kept in an erect position by waxing and enclosing sticks or wire within them. A fringe of short hair covers the brow, and on it is placed a triangular tiara with a crest. In No. 108, the rays are greatly multiplied and arranged in a double row, and the tiara is provided with three crests. Both these are taken from the figures of goddesses. No. 109, likewise, represents the head-dress of a goddess. In it the hair is disposed in the form of a hemispherical casque over the head, then tied round by a band and crest, and the end is made to arch over backwards in three separate masses like the horse-hair plumes of a Grecian hero. The head of Kārtikeya in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara is coiffed in the same way, but without the tie in the middle, in excellent keeping with his martial character as the acknowledged great god of war, though he occupies the position of a lieutenant of Śiva. No. 110, is *sui generis*. In it the hair is disposed in curling horizontal bands on the two sides of a long upright crest rising from a jewelled tiara.

The ordinary rule regarding warriors and athletes, however, is not to have knots or chignons, but to cut the hair close, and to represent it in a thick, short, crisp slightly-curled state, the effeminate chignon and knot being reserved for common people, and especially for beaus and men of pleasure. This effeminacy still exists among some Uriyās, and in Bengal it was not unknown at the beginning of this century, though the more common style among men of fashion was long curling locks hanging down to the shoulders. This was very like the ancient Greek style, which Miller describes as consisting of " expanding hair curling down over the cheeks and neck in long curved lines ", and which "was regarded as the sign of a soft delicate nature ".[86] In the various styles of dressing the feminine hair, there is one peculiarity worthy of special notice,—it is the want of the parting of the hair along the mesian line from the forehead backwards. This parting is regarded by modern Hindu women as a special mark of married life, and no Bengali lady who has her husband living, will, on any account, allow this to be disturbed. Constantly parting the hair at one particular spot, and tying the locks of the two sides tight away, often lead to baldness along the middle line ; but the dread of widowhood is too strong to override the custom. This peculiar style of parting is well known in Europe in the present day, and may also be noticed in many antique female heads. For the demi-monde and dancing girls the Alex-

85. At Amarāvatī, Mr. Fergusson notices a comb behind the head to hold these loose masses of hair together, but it has not been met with at Bhuvaneśvara.

86. Miller's *Ancient Art and its Remains*, p. 334.

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andrine style of combing back the hair without any parting is the most favourite fashion.

Turbans and Caps : Where the body is generally nude or ill-clothed, it is not to be expected that much will be seen on the head besides the hair ; but examples are not wanting of various kinds of caps, turbans and other ornaments for the head. Turbans are rarely seen at Bhuvaneśvara, though this part of the male dress was held in considerable esteem in India, and frequent mention of it is made in Sanskrit writings. Under the name of *Uṣṇīṣa*, it is alluded to in the *Atharvaveda*,[87] and in the bas-reliefs of Sāñcī and Amarāvatī, a great many varieties of it are represented. Illustrations Nos. 111, 112, 113 and 114, are taken from the temples of Bhuvaneśvara, and show the turban as worn by *durwans* and *sannyāsīs*. The forms differ in no respect from those in common use in the present day. Caps too are not of frequent occurrence. There are, nevertheless, several specimens of rich caps which are [95] worthy of notice. One in the Temple of Vaitāl Devī is very like the forage cap which was in common use by officers in the English army until the beginning of this century. A brocaded specimen of it occurs on the head of a dancing girl in the same temple. (Illustration No. 115) Caps of various kinds may also be seen in the bas-reliefs of Sāñcī, Amarāvatī, and Udayagiri. The modern bridegroom's light wood crown, the *ṭopar*, is common everywhere.

Beard : The turbaned figures are all bearded, while those of men of rank and position are all smooth-chinned. In fact, the practice of cultivating the beard has never been in fashion among the ancient Hindus, and even among the earliest Aryans of the Vedic times, the razor[88] and the barber were in every day requisition. It is true that certain days of the week, particularly Saturdays, and certain constellations are reckoned inauspicious ; but this is overridden by the ordinance which requires that all vows, fasts, and *śrāddhas*, should be preceded by shaving and paring of the nails, the penalty for the wretch, who neglects it " being a sojourn in the next life for twenty days or twenty years in a vat full of hair and nails, during which he has to eat nails and hair, and be constantly beaten with a stick ".[89] The ordinary practice of house-holders is to shave frequently, not unoften every day. In this peculiarity the Hindus closely resemble the ancient Egyptians, who, says Herodotus, only let the hair of their head and beard grow in mourning, being at all other times shaved ". " So particular, indeed, were they on this point, that to have neglected it, was a subject of reproach and ridicule ; and whenever they intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a slovenly person, the artist represented him with a beard. It is amusing to find ", adds Sir Gardener Wilkinson, " that their love for caricature was not confined to the lower orders, but extended even to the king : and the negligent habits of Rameses VII. are indicated in his tomb at Thebes, by the

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87. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* V. 462.
88. "Sharpen us like a razor in the hands of a barber". Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. p. 233. "Driven by the wind, Agni shears the hair of the earth like a barber shaving a beard". *Ṛgveda*, X. 142.4.
89. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, prakṛtikhaṇḍa, Chapter XXVII.

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appearance of his chin blackened by unshaven beard of two or three days' growth ".[90] The ancient Greeks and the Romans entirely differed from the Hindus and the Egyptians in this particular. The Romans cultivated the beard until the year 299 B. C. when P. Ticinus Mena, having brought barbers from Sicily, introduced the custom of shaving at Rome, and, as Pliny states, "Scipio Africanus was the first Roman who shaved every day". [91] The Greeks down to the time of Alexander the Great, failed to appreciate the comfort and cleanliness of a shaved chin, and on that account were held in such abhorrence by the Egyptians, who followed the cleanly Indian custom of shaving, that, according to Herodotus, " no Egyptians of either sex would on any account kiss the lips of a Greek, make use of his knife, his spit and cauldron, or taste the meat of an animal which had been slaughtered by his hand ". [92] Among Indians, sages, hermits and men who had renounced the pleasures of the world, as also men in mourning, kept it as a mark of penance like the Egyptians [93] and the Jews,[94] and unlike the Greeks, who shaved on those occasions. The bearded Hussar officer, who is so irresistible among the lasses in Europe, would have found scant chance among the damsels of India, who seem to have detested the beard, and to account for the blindness of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, a story is told in the *Mahābhārata*, in which a lady closes her eyes at the sight of her brother -in-law in a beard.

Shoes and Boots : Of ancient shoes, I met with only one variety, the slipper, with a slightly upturned front, but all the carvings of it that came to my observation were, owing to their small size, and the decay of ages, so indistinct that I could take no drawing that would be worth having. Two or three pairs of pattens, *khaḍams*, seen were also in the same predicament. It is probable that in India these articles of dress were held in about the same requisition formerly as now ; but that they were well known and in common use by all who could afford to get them, is evident from there being more than one Sanskrit name for them. The circumstance related in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Bharata's placing on the vacant throne of Ayodhyā a pair of Rāma's slippers and worshipping it during the latter's long protracted exile, shows that shoes were important articles of wear, and worth of attention. The episode on the subject is one of the most affecting in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and displays to perfection the mastery with which old Vālmīki, the Homer of India, touched the tenderest chords in the heart of his reader.[95] In Manu and the *Mahābhārata*, the slippers are also mentioned, and

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90. *Ancient Egyptians*, III. p. 357.

91. *Pliny*, VII. 59, *apud* Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, III. 359.

92. *Herodotus*, II. 41 and 91. 93. *Ibid.* II. 36 and III. 12. 94. *Genesis* xii. 14.

95. When Rāma expressed his firm resolve not to return home even were "the cold to forsake the Hills of Snow" and the Ocean to retire from its shore Bharata said—

"Put, noble brother, I entreat,
"These sandals on thy blessed feet :
"These, lord of men, with gold bedecked,
"The realm and people will protect".

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Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

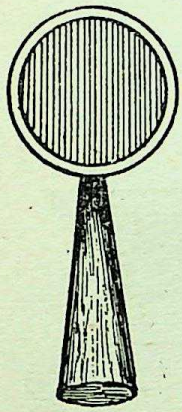

Fig. 25

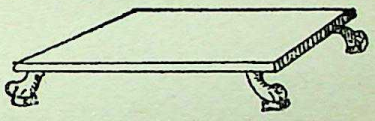

Fig. 26

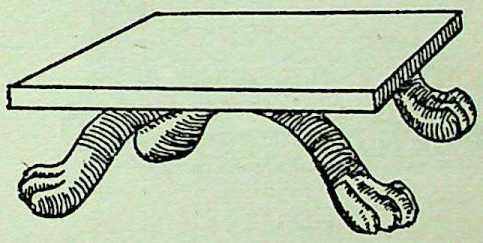

Fig. 27

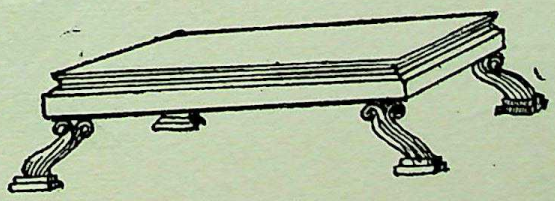

Fig. 28

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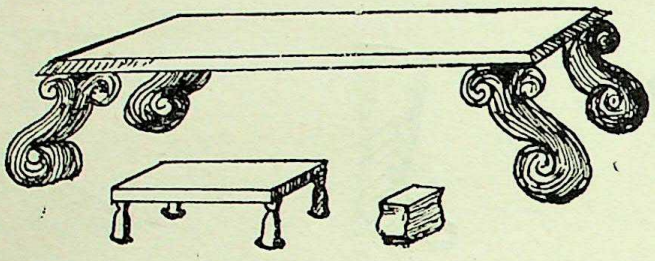

Fig. 29

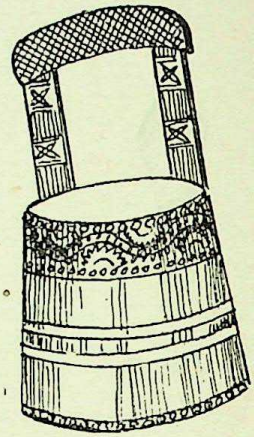

Fig. 31

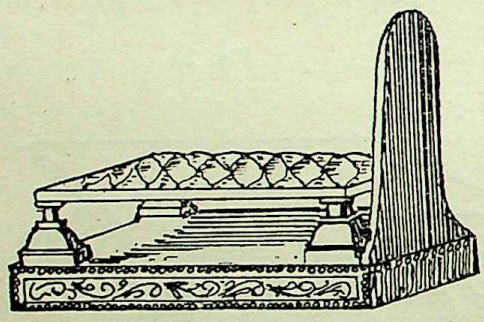

Fig. 30

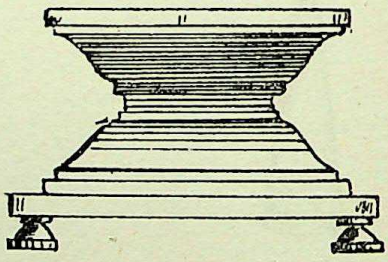

Fig. 32

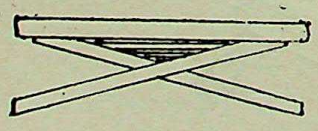

Fig. 33

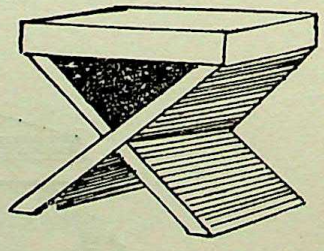

Fig. 34

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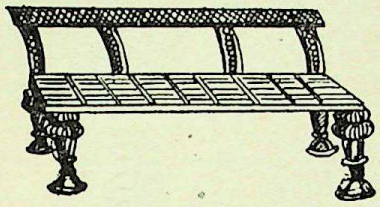

Fig. 35

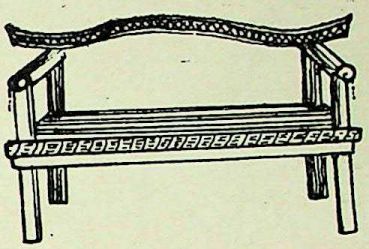

Fig. 36

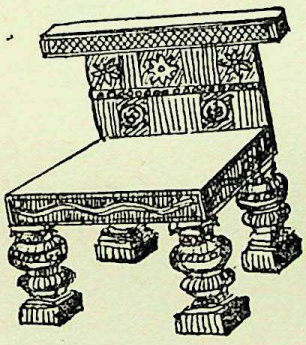

Fig. 37

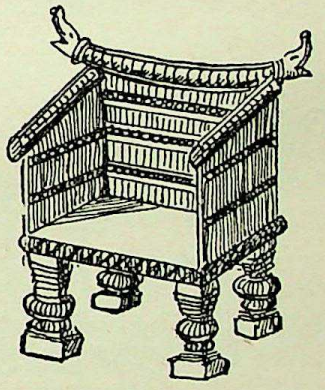

Fig. 38

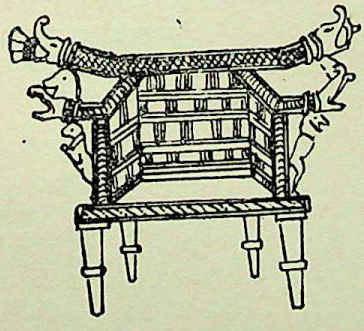

Fig. 39

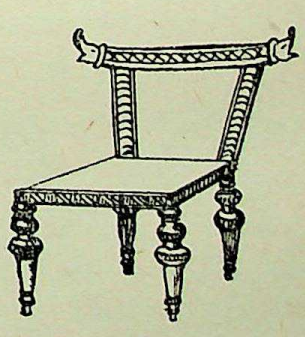

Fig 40

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WOODCUTS

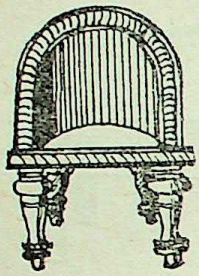
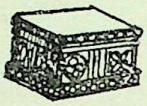
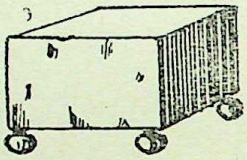


Fig. 41



ig. 42



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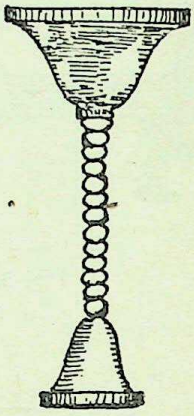

Fig. 44

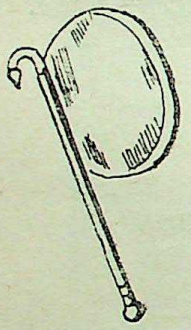

Fig. 46

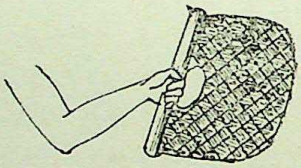

Fig. 47

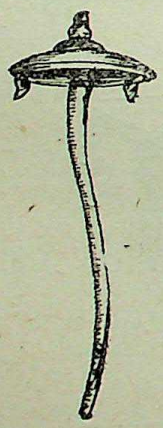

Fig. 49

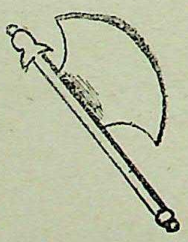

Fig. 48

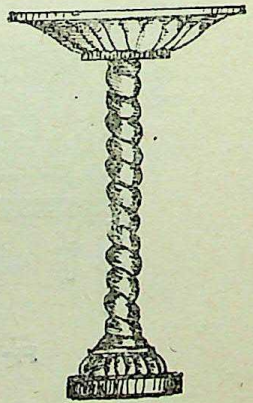

Fig. 45

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Fig. 50

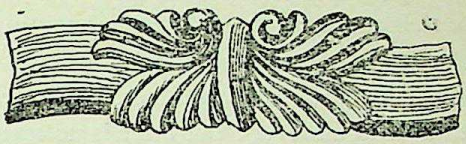

Fig. 53

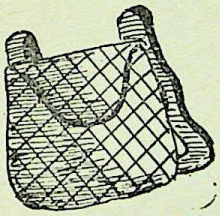

Fig. 51

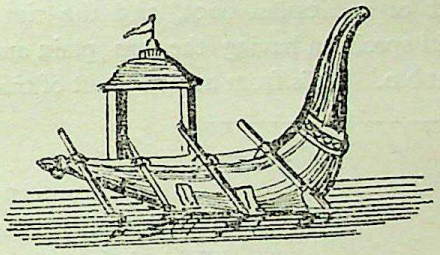

Fig. 52

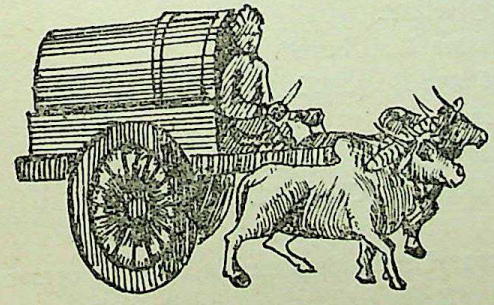

Fig. 55

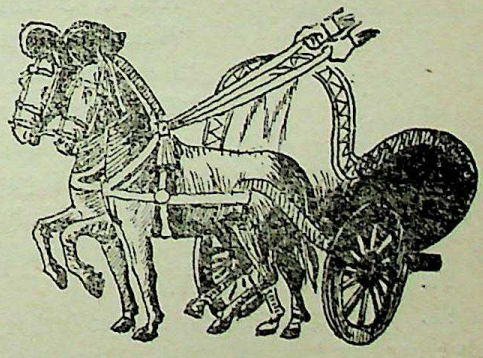

Fig. 54

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the time and mode of putting them on, pointed out ; and mediaeval Sanskrit authors allude to them pretty frequently. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* enjoins all who wish to protect their person, never to be without leather shoes.[96] Manu, in one place, expresses great repugnance to stepping into another's shoes, and peremptorily forbids it,[97] and the Purāṇas recommend the use of shoes when walking out of the house, particularly in thorny places, and on hot sand. In the *Toy Cart* of Śudraka, which dates from the first century before Christ, the mother of a rich courtezan is described as arrayed in flowered muslin with her feet thrust into a pair of slippers,[98] showing that in ancient times, as in the present day, women of the town were in the habit of wearing shoes. Whether family women ever used them, I have not yet been able to discover : but there is no text forbidding such use that I am aware of. At Sāñcī there is a corps of musicians dressed in kilts, and wearing sandals, tied to the leg by crossed bands, very much in the same way in which the ancient Grecians fastened their sandals. Nothing similar to them has anywhere else been noticed in India. (Illustration No. 166). The boots at Udayagiri, reaching up to the knee, have been already alluded to (Illustration No. 94), and I have seen several specimens in other parts of India. Woodcut No. 21, shows a boot taken from a figure of Sūrya found near Surajpokhar in Behar, which from the circumstance of the worship of Sūrya, a Vedic divinity, having become obsolete for over a thousand years, I believe to be about twelve hundred years old. Its top is cut aslant like that of a Hessian boot, and the rim is decorated by a border of lines and dots, the Udayagiri specimen having the top plain and evenly cut like that of a Wellington boot. Woodcut No. 22, is from an attendant of this Sūrya, and differs from the last in having

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Adding—

"Through fourteen seasons will I wear
"The hermit's dress and matted hair :
"With fruit and root my life sustain,
"And still beyond the realm remain,
"Longing for thee to come again.
"The rule and all affairs of state
"I, to these shoes, will delegate.
"And if, O tamer of thy foes,
"When fourteen years have reached their close
"I see thee not that day return.
"The kindled fire my frame shall burn".

Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa* II, p. 453.

96. varṣātapādike chatrī daṇḍīrātryaṭavīṣu ca/
śarīratrāṇakāmo vai sopānatkaḥ sadā vrajet //
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Book II. Chap. 12.

97. *Manu*, Ch. IV. 66.

98. Maitreya. "And pray who is that lady dressed in flowered muslin, goodly person truly ; her feet, shining with oil, thrust into a pair of slippers ? She sits in state on a gorgeous throne". Att.. "That is my lady's mother". Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II. p. 87.

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the whole of the leg part of it ornamented by oblique lines, leaving the foot plain. A second image of Sūrya, found in the same locality and of about the same age, shows a bootee or something like a ploughman's highlow, covering about one-third of the leg, and having both its leg and foot parts marked with diagonal lines : it resembles very closely the side spring boots of the present day, but without the springs. (Woodcut No. 23). On another figure of Sūrya, found near Murshidabad, which, judging from its material and make, I take to be of about the same age as the preceding two, there is a boot the top of which has a Vandyked edge marked with double lines. (Woodcut No. 24). The desecration of this figure by a European, lately formed the subject of a criminal action in the High Court of Calcutta, and it was then brought to light that its true character was unknown to the people, and that it was worshipped as an image of Viṣṇu. A sixth specimen is to be seen on the temples of Kedāreśvara and Mukteśvara as also on the back frame of the Murshidabad Sūrya, and in it the top is so cut as to leave a flap like the Napoleon flap projecting in front and another behind, the sides showing triangular notches. (Illustration No. 166). This boot is also remarkable from the circumstance of its being worn by a lady : her lover has boots of the same kind. Curiously enough the figures on which these boots have been found are all dressed in *dhutis*, having the upper part of the body bare. None of the boots shows any marking for the sole or heel, and so they may be taken for moccasins, or buskins without the cork soles which were used to add to the height of actors on the Grecian stage. That the boots or buskins under notice are genuine Hindu articles of dress, and not borrowed from foreigners is evident from their having been known from very ancient times. Pāṇini notices a variety of boots which covered the whole of the foot and was tied at the ankle. Its name is *anupadīna*. It must have been common enough at the time to serve as an example for the illustration of a rule in grammar, and already so old and familiar as to have lost its radical derivation in the mazes of antiquity[99]. Amara Siṃha describes it as a kind of shoe that covered the whole of the foot, *padupānat strī saivānupadīnā padāyatā*, and most of his commentators, who lived after the advent of the Muhammadans in this country, explain it by reference to the familiar Persian boot called *mujāh* : *mojā iti khyātaḥ*. Paṇḍits of the present day, finding that in India the word *mujāh* is used for stockings or socks, suppose that *anupadīna* means that article ; but neither the interpretation of Amara, nor the original meaning of the Persian word, supports their inference. Bharata Mallika says that it was an ankle boot. *saivaḥ upānat padāyatā padāyāmapramāṇā cet anupadīnā mojā khyātā syāt* [97] *gulphādisahitamaśeṣapadaṃ anupadaṃ, sākalye avyayībhāvaḥ anupadaṃ vyāpnoti anupadīnā* In the *Amarakoṣa-mālā* of Paramānanda, we have : *Saivopānat padasamānāyatā dīrghā cet anupadīnā padasya tulyāyāmaṃ syāt anupadasya tulyāyāmaṃ syāt anuryasya cāyāma ityavyayībhāvaḥ* As. Soc. MS. 448, fol. That the Persian *mujāh*, when first introduced into India, was a boot or buskin, i, e., an outer leather covering for the foot is evident from such phrases as *muzā dārgil mādan* " to have one's *mujāh* stuck in clay " i. e., being under a difficulty—*muzā nehādan* put forth

99. anurāyāme sādṛśye vā anupadabaddhā
anupadīnā upānat. 5. 2. 6.

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the *mujāh* " for proceeding on a journey, having become idiomatic and proverbial in the Persian language. The last is equivalent to the American slang " pull-foot ", which again is a Yankee version of the *a'nairon e'k domáton podá* of Euripides. Had the *mujāh* meant a sock, or an inner covering protected by outer leather shoes, it could never have been used for starting on a journey.

The material for these boots and shoes was ordinarily bovine leather, and even the hide of the sacrificed cattle was not excepted. According to Sāñvatya quoted by Āśvalāyana, the hide of the cattle sacrificed at the *Śūlagava* ceremony, was fit to be converted into shoes and other useful articles.[100]

Ornaments : The passion for personal ornaments and decoration is common to every state of society. It may have been chastened and modified under particular circumstances, but it has never and nowhere been altogether suppressed. The jackdaw's feathers and cowrie-shell necklets of some of the Pacific islanders may have been replaced in the boudoirs of Paris and the drawing-rooms of England by the magnificent plumes of the ostrich and brilliants of unrivalled lustre and in Asia by the pinions of the bird of paradise and orient pearls of exquisite perfection, but the desire for them remains the same, and equally ardent everywhere. It is not remarkable, therefore, that it prevailed to an inordinate extent in ancient India under conditions, climatic and social, the most favourable to its growth. To judge from the records and relics now accessible, the passion seems to have manifested itself in an inordinate fondess for gold jewellery for different parts of the body, and the deities of the *Ṛgveda* constantly present themselves adorned with a variety of them. Rudra is described as " firm strong limbs, assuming many forms, fierce and tawny coloured, shining with brilliant golden ornaments",[101] and wearing "an adorable uniform necklace ". The Maruts decorate their persons " with various ornaments " ;[102] " they are richly decorated with ornaments ", and " shining necklaces are pendant on their breasts "[103] The Aśvins are also adorned with golden ornaments. The Asuras, like their rivals, had, likewise, plenty of " gold and jewels ",[104] and human beings, whose ornaments were no doubt the prototypes of their celestial counterparts, were certainly not without their due share. Accordingly we find the sage Kakṣīvat praying for a son " decorated with golden earrings and jewel necklace " ;[105] and among largesses to priests and Brāhmaṇs, gold in lumps or in ornaments, is prominently mentioned. In the *Nirukta* of Yāska and the grammar of Pāṇini, not only ornaments but names of various kinds of them, are enumerated, and Manu defines the nature and duties of the caste whose especial vocation was to manufacture them, and the punishment meet for fraudulent adulteration of gold. The old vocabulary of Amara Siṃha gives names for crowns, crests and tiaras for the head ; of rings, flowers and bosses for the ears ; of necklaces of

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100. bhogaṃ carmaṇā kurvīteti *śāṃvatyaḥ* 1. 4. 9. 24.
śāṃvatyastvācāryaḥ carmaṇā bhogamupānadādi kurvīteti manyate /

101. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II. 221. 102. *Ibid.* II. 179. 103. *Ibid.* IV. 124-298.

104. *Ibid.* I. 91. 105. *Ibid.* II. 6.

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one to a hundred rows, and of various shapes and patterns ; of armlets and bracelets ; of signet and other rings for the fingers ; of zones and girdles for the waist for both men and women ; as also of ornaments of bells, bands and chains for the leg and ankle. Although fashion has rendered the forms of many of the ancient ornaments now obsolete, most of the names are still current in connexion with their substitutes, and the sculptures of Bhuvaneśvara afford us a pretty fair idea of what their shapes were twelve hundred years ago. The bas-reliefs of Sāñcī and Amarāvatī also exhibit specimens of a great variety of ornaments for the hands, feet, waist, neck, and head. In the absence of positive information regarding the ethnography of the people represented in these three places, it would be wrong to take the ornaments shown as illustrations of the jeweller's art as extant among a single race from the second or the first century before Christ to the seventh century of the Christian era ; but taking India as a whole, they show a gradual, steady and marked advance towards refinement. The bangles, bracelets, and anklets of Sāñcī, are the clumsiest possible. They are thick, rough, and heavy, almost devoid of workmanship, and large enough to cover from one to two-thirds of the legs and fore-arms. Judging from specimens still in use among the lower orders of the people away from urban influence, they must have been made, in most instances, of brass or bell-metal. The bangles and armlets of Amarāvatī, though mostly of the same patterns, are smaller, lighter and neater, and the anklets are somewhat less ponderous. At Bhuvaneśvara they are not only reduced in size and weight, but greatly improved in appearance. Amidst a few of the older forms there is quite an abunbance of specimens, which for neatness, elegance, and beauty, would not stand in any great disadvantage besides the finest specimens of their times from any other part of the world. Nor is this remarkable, considering the celebrity which India has enjoyed from remote antiquity for the excellence of her ornaments. Adverting to it, Mr. Maskelyne, in his *Report* [98] *on Jewellery and Precious Stones in the French Exhibition of 1866* (class XXXVI), says : "It is said that even that delicate and most sensitive instrument of touch, the hand of the Hindu, is not sufficiently sensitive for fashioning the finest sorts of Indian filigree, and the children alone are employed in the manipulation of such a spider-web of wire. Of fabrics so delicate, nothing is to be seen among the jewellery at Paris, indeed the best of the Indian filigree, and that by no means worthy of its source, is to be found among the articles exhibited under the goldsmith's class. It is to be remarked of this elegant and primitive, perhaps very earliest form of ornament in precious metal, that it had probably reached its limits for delicacy and design at a very archaic period, and has made no real progress in recent times ; that, in fact, the early Greek filigraner worked with as much facility and delicacy as the Hindu artisan of our day, who inherits the skill and the methods he uses by the direct descent of an immemorial tradition. But there are other forms of the goldsmith's art scarcely less venerable than that of the filigranes, possessed of great native beauty, and which also have survived in India, through the long roll of centuries, as the Zend and Sanskrit languages have survived there, the inheritance of families or clans. Those forms of art are perishing one by one, as the family in whom it may have been handed down becomes extinct or lets the thread be broken, each of these hereditary industries of India

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moves on with time to its extinction." It is of course impossible to expect specimens of filigree in sculpture, but the ornaments exhibited by no means fail to support the pretensions of the country to superior excellence in the goldsmith's art.

Crowns, coronets and tiaras : When treating of coiffure frequent references have already been made to crests, coronets and tiaras. Crowns were held in much higher estimation ; and carvings of a great variety of them, some of elaborate workmanship are to be met with. The richest crown that has come to my notice, is one worn by the goddess Indrāṇī at Jājapur. In outline, it is very like an Irāṇian cap, but most sumptuously bedecked with jewels all over. Illustrations No. 63 and 142 also exhibit crowns for gods, but of less pretension : the circlet in Illustration No. 116 is so like a ducal coronet that it may be mistaken for one from the head of Richard coeur-de-lion. The *Aṣṭanāyikās* of Jājapur show other and remarkable specimens.

Ear Ornaments : Ornaments for the ears are also exhibited in great variety, but owing to their small size and the rough usage to which the hands, nose and ears most of the statues had been subjected by the Moslem invaders, I have not been able to obtain drawings of a sufficient number of perfect and well-marked specimens. My drawings include representations of only five varieties, but they are characteristic, and will, it is believed, prove interesting. No. 121 is from a female figure in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara. Its drooping plume and fan-like appendage are peculiar, and have been noticed on several male figures. Some times the fan, probably made of party coloured fringed cloth, is surmounted by floating ribbons, (No. 63). The *tālapatra*, or " palm -leaf ear-ornament ", named in the *Amarakoṣa*, was probably no other than this fan. Illustration No. 122 from the same place is worn on the ears, hooked in a hole in the helix or outer rim, or tied to the hair near it. It is still in use on the top or sides of the head, and is known in Bengal, where it is made of jewelled gold plates and strings of pearls, by the name of *jummā*. Illustration No. 120 is called *karṇaphula*, or " the ear -flower ", and has a pretty tulip drop ; it has been taken from a figure of the boar incarnation in a small temple adjoining the Great Tower. The ornament was a great favourite of Durgā and the famous Maṇikarṇikā of Benares derives its name from the circumstance, says the legend, of the goddess having by accident dropped an ornament of this kind at that sacred spot. Illustration No. 118 from the Mārkaṇḍa Tank in Puri is now known in Bengal by the name of *ḍheñḍi*. It is a shield-shaped disk of gold worn on the lobe of the ear, sometimes with, and sometimes without a pendant. Illustration No. 119 from the Great Tower represents two ornaments, tulip drop, hung from the antitragus, and a stud with pearl fringe and pendant, attached to the lower edge of the lobule. Several other forms will be noticed in some of the illustrations attached to this work.

Nose ornaments : Studs and rings for the nose set with stones or pearls are great favourites in the present day, and were probably not unknown in former times. In the *Śāradā Tilaka*, mention is made of an Andhra lady "whose graceful ear is decorated by the scroll of gold ; whose nose-ring set with pearls trembles to her breath ; and over whose

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bosom spreads the saffron-dyed vest"[106] ; but no such ornaments have been met with in sculpture.

Necklaces, bangles, bracelets, &c. : Of necklaces, the finest specimens are to be seen in the Illustrations Nos. 63 and 142. In their lockets the collets for the setting of precious stones on a gold frame is distinctly indicated. Some of the pendants of the large necklace of the male figure, Kārtikeya, appear as if intended to represent tiger's claws mounted on gold, a favourite charm still in use in some parts of India. The small necklace is formed of small lockets edged with pearls. The garland across the chest was probably formed of flowers, though the bell-shaped pendants of Bhagavatī's garland [**99**] would suggest the idea of its being the representation of a metallic ornament. The necklet of Bhagavatī is formed of five pearls or gold beads each, and a string of pearls is worn between the principal necklace and the necklet. A string of bells descends from the right breast, and a string of pearls or beads passes from the right shoulder to the left side.

Ornaments for the Hand : Of ornaments for the forearm the most important in the present day is the *bālā*, a ring of metal of a cylindrical plate ordinarily plain, but sometimes twisted or otherwise wrought, which Bengali women reckon as the emblem of their married state, and never open it as long as their husbands are living. If made of gold or silver it generally encloses a bit of iron, but a separate annulet of iron is also commonly worn which then forms, like the European marriage ring, the emblem of the married state. In Orissa the *bālā* is replaced by the *khāḍu*, which differs from the former in being flat, and not cylindrical. Its under surface is flat and smooth, the upper is wrought in various patterns, a beaded form being the most prevalent. In sculpture it is the commonest, a rich specimen has an elaborate boss or crest-like appendage on the top. (Illustration No. 129, A.) The beaded plate is sometimes edged in by rims of which Illustration No. 132, A. offers a good specimen ; at other times it is doubled, omitting the crest (Illustration No. 124), or the spaces between the two circlets widened, or arched, or otherwise developed and ornamented (Illustrations Nos. 123, A. 125, A, 126, A. and 127, A.) In Calcutta the last is in common use, and known under the name of *paṭuri* ; it is the exact counterpart of the European bracelet. Illustrations Nos. 128 and 131, A. exhibit the well-known conch-shell ornament *(śaṅkha)*. It is formed by cutting the shell (*Mazza Rafa*, Lamark, *Turbinella Rafa* and *Valuta gravis* of Sir E. Tennent into annulets, and eight or ten of them are arranged in a tapering form, and then mounted with gold beads, bosses and other decorations ; some of the annulets are left white, while others are dyed with lac of a bright crimson colour. It has now entirely gone out of fashion in Calcutta, but among the poorer classes in Orissa it reigns supreme. A form of it made of gold, and buffaloe horn or of gold and horn set with precious stones, and called *peṭā cuḍi*, has also lost its hold in Calcutta ; but it still continues a favourite among Uriyā belles. For the arm the *bāju*, the *tābij* and the *tāḍ* were, until recently, the leading ornaments, and Illustrations Nos. 128, B. 130 and 127, B. exhibit very choice specimens. The *bāju* is apparently mounted with precious stones, but the others are simply wrought in metal. In

106. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II. p. 385.

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Illustrations No. 123, B. and 124, B. there are two specimens of the *tābij* quite different from what is known in the present day, and No. 129, B. improves upon No. 123, B. by adding to it a fringe of small bells. Illustrations Nos. 127, C. and 132, C. show various kinds of finger rings and the mode of wearing them. The figures of Bhagavatī and Kārtikeya bear on them some rich specimens of armlets and bracelets. (Illustrations Nos. 63 and 142.)

Waist ornaments : With the Grecians the zone was a most important article of attire, for it served not only as an ornament, but as a belt to tie the chiton round the waist, and produce those graceful and charming folds in the drapery which have formed the theme of admiration to all lovers of the classic art. In India it had not this double duty to perform, but it was nevertheless held in high estimation, not only by the fair sex, but even by grown up men ; and in sculptures all persons of consequence are decorated with it. It was made of various forms, but a fringe of bells was held in the highest favour, and known under different names. Sometimes it was worn tight like a belt, but at others loosely like a garland of many rows. The form most in requisition was called *candrahāra*, or " the garland of moons ", Uriyā *goṭe*, and the most gorgeous specimen of the mediaeval style of it is seen on the figure of Bhagavatī above noticed. (Illustration No. 63.) It is formed of three massive chains of a curious diagonal pattern, set with spangles, and held together in front by a rich and elaborate clasp having a jewelled pendant. From the lowest chain hang a series of bells and pendant chains festooned all round the body. The zone of Kārtikeya (Illustration No. 142) is quite as magnificent, but its principal pendant is even more elaborate and gorgeous. Zones of less pretensions may be seen on plate XXII.

Leg and feet ornaments : The exigencies of climate have not permitted European ladies to devote any attention to ornaments for the legs and feet, except in the decoration of their boots and shoes as also the garter, which in the middle ages was an important female ornament. The case has been very different in India, and rings for the toes and anklets and leglets of various kinds have been current from an early epoch. The most favourite among them was a chain band round the feet fringed with little bells, or small metal shells filled with shots, which made a jingling sound when in motion. (Illustrations Nos. 138, 139 and 141.) It was called *kiṅkinī* and worn by both sexes. A form of it, called *pāñjora* from the Persian *Pāyzeb*, is in Bengal now given to brides only, and rejected within a year or two after marriage ; but up-country women and Muhammadan ladies wear it till an advanced age. Modifications of this ornament are shewn in Illustrations Nos. 134, 135 and 140, where the chain is replaced by hollow tubes filled with shots. These are called *Nūpura* in Sanskrit. Illustrations Nos. 133, 134 and 139 represent anklets, of whieh No. 133 and the upper one of No. 134 are the only ones now in use. They are called [100] *Gujri*, from having been first introduced by the belles of Guzerat.[107]

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107. Thus in the *Śāradā Tilaka* ; "There goes the maid of Gurjara blooming as with perpetual youth having eyes like the *cakora*, of the complexion of the yellow *rocanā*, and a voice musical as that of the parrot. She wears anklets of silver, large earrings

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They are made hollow and filled with shots, or fringed with bells. The ornaments exhibited in Illustrations Nos 136, 137, and the upper one of 138, were confined to Orissa and Teliṅgānā, where the dress worn was generally short, and the leg was left sufficiently bare to display them. They were worn by both sexes, but on one leg only. A modification, consisting of a curiously bent rod, is still in use in some parts of Orissa and is known under the name of *bāṅkmala*. It was unknown at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī. Illustration No. 140 shows some toe rings.

Pearls and precious stones : It is scarcely necessary to observe that, with exception of the collets noticed above, there is nothing in the sculptures to show what the ornaments were made of; but seeing that pearls have been fished along the Coromandel Coast from long before the time of Alexander's invasion; that pearls, precious stones, and gold, as elements of ornament, have been known in the country from times immemorial; and that Manu ordains a find for "piercing fine gems, as diamonds or rubies, and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly", there need be little doubt as to what their materials were. Of course it is possible that what I take for pearls may have been only beads of metal, or stone, or baked clay, and the bangles may have been of bell-metal; but it is not very probable that the princes, under whose orders the temples were designed and built, always satisfied their passion for ornaments with nothing more precious. In the *Brāhmaṇa* of the old recension of the *Yajureda*, which dates from at least eight centuries before the Christian era, jewellery is recommended to be strung in gold.[108] The word used for jewellery is *Kāca*, which may mean glass, or glass-beads; but it would be unreasonable to suppose that those who set glass on gold, did not follow the same procedure with diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones, for which they had names, and which they knew and prized. In the first century before the Christian era, Śudraka in his play of the *Toy Cart*, did not think it inconsistent to describe in the courtyard of a common courtezan's house, jewellers' shops, "where skilful artists were examining pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, *lapis lazuli*, coral and other jewels; some set rubies in gold; some work gold ornaments on coloured thread, some string pearls, some grind the *lapis lazuli*, some pierce shells, and some cut coral". [109] Nor were the people satisfied with such originals; the requirements of society rendered the fabrication of false jewellery a commonly practised art. This is evident from a passage in the same play, in which a question is raised about the identity of certain ornaments produced in a court of justice, whereupon the Judge asks :

Judge. "Do you know these ornaments ?"

Mother. "Have I not said ? They may be different, though like. I cannot say more; they may be imitations made by some skilful artist.

Judge. "It is true. Provost, examine them; they may be different, though like; the dexterity of the artists is no doubt very great, and they readily fabricate imitations of

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set with pearls, and her bodice is buttoned below the hips with gems". Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II. 384.

108. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III. 665.

109. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II. p. 85.

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ornaments they have once seen, in such a manner, that the difference shall scarcely be discernible."[110]

Eight centuries after that time Uriyā *rājās* may be supposed, without any great stretch of imagination, to have had some such bijouterie.

Lookingglasses : Looking glasses deserve to be mentioned as a part of the toilette, for in ancient India, they were rarely designed as ornaments for rooms. The most rudimentary form of this article appears in finger rings, in the shape of bits of crystal set on foils. Such rings were formely, as at present, worn on the thumb, and many sculptured nymphs may be seen beholding the reflection of their countenances on their rings. Larger specimens of a circular, oval, or oblong shape, framed and mounted on handles, are not wanting, and these invariably occur in the hands of young ladies. (Woodcut No. 25.) What the reflectors were made of, whether foiled glass, or crystal, or polished metal plate, I cannot ascertain. In the Sanskrit language there are several words to indicate mirrors, and most of them are derived from roots implying reflection, but none a metal, or polishing. In the mediaeval and later ancient works, the words are largely used, but I have not yet met with any of them in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*. To persons acquainted with crystals and metal foil and familiar with the art of preparing false jewellery, the idea of setting small plates of crystal on foil for the manufacture of looking-glasses would be easy enough, and that is the way, most probably, in which ancient Indian mirrors were made. Polished metal plates were, however, frequently used, and in the present day orthodox people prefer them to foiled glass in connexion with religious ceremonies. Such plates are usually made of silver steel, brass, or a speculum metal in which silver predominates. The ancient Egyptians preferred copper, or an alloy of copper and tin, i.e,, bell-metal ; but the Hindus hold that alloy as impure, and never use it for religious purposes. For ordinary, every-day, domestic utensils and ornaments, however, it [101] was, and indeed is, very largely employed, and seeing that it is cheap, and the Uriyās are particularly successful in producing it of a very superior description, rivalling silver in colour and brightness, it was probably also used in the fabrication of mirrors. The word *kāca* for glass occurs in works considerably over two thousand years old, and seeing that the Singhalese, who borrowed all the arts of civilized life from the Hindus, make mention, in the *Dipawanso*, of a " glass pinnacle " placed on the top of the Ruanawellé *dagoba* by Suidaitissa, brother of Dutugaimuna, in the second century before Christ, and of a " glass-mirror ", in the third century B. C.,[111] and Pliny describes the glass of India being superior to all others from the circumstance of its being made of pounded crystal (*Lib.* XXXVI. c. 66), it would not, I fancy, be presumptuous to believe, that it was, in ancient times, used in India in the formation of looking-glasses ; but I have nothing to show that mercury was used in fixing the foil on it. The looking-glasses used in the decoration of the marble bath in the palace at Agra, were foiled with a film of lead and tin poured in a melted state in large glass globes which were afterwards broken to form small mirrors. This mode of foiling is still in common practice in many parts of India. A counterpart

110. *Ibid.* I. 165.

111. Tennent's *Ceylon*, I. p. 454.

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of the mirror shown in the woodcut occurs in the garden scene at Sāñcī. A female figure from Bhuvaneśvara, in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 806, is seen holding a circular convex mirror by a cross strap on its back. The handled mirror shown in the woodcut is, in appearance, very like the looking-glasses of the ancient Egyptian ladies. In the finer specimens of such articles the handles were probably carved as in Egypt, or ornamented with metallic mountings, but I have met with no such specimen.

Furniture and Domestic Utensils. Bedsteads: The most prominent characteristic of the Indian mode of living has always been extreme simplicity. It is not remarkable, therefore, that there should be wanting traces of any great variety of furniture and domestic utensils among them. The four-poster was probably never known, and of almirahs, chests-of-drawers, and the like, there are no names in the Sanskrit language. The bedstead of the ancient Uriyās was ordinarily like the ancient Egyptian and modern Indian *cārpoy*—a rope matting stretched on a simple frame of wood supported on four legs. For men of consequence and wealth, the matting was replaced by tape, (*pālaṅg*), or boards, (*takhtapoṣ*), the frame-work set off with mouldings and carved work, and the legs cut into various shapes. According to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, which dates from the middle of the sixth century, the woods most esteemed for bedsteads were those of the *Asana* (*āsan, Pentaptera tomentosa*), *Syandana* (*Dalbergia ougeinensis*), *Candana* (sandal wood, *Pterocarpus santalinus*), *Haridrā* (*Mesua ferrea*), *Suradāru* (deodar pine, *Pinus deodāru*), *Tinduki* (a kind of ebony, *Diosperos glutinosa*) *Śāla* (*Shorea rodusta*), *Kāsmari gambhār, Gmelina arborea*), *Añjana* (*Michaelea campaka*), *Padmaka* (?) *Sāla* (teak *Tectonagrandis*), and *Śiṅśapā* (*śiśu, Dalbergea sisu*).[112] These include some of the best timber-producing trees of India ; the wood of most of these trees is hard, close-grained, susceptible of a good polish, and in every way well adapted for cabinet work. The value of sandal, ebony, teak, *śiśu* and *gambhār* for such purposes is too well known to need iteration ; the last is particularly esteemed for the fabrication of the sounding-boards of musical instruments. It is worthy of note, however, that the list does not include the toon, which now-a-days is so extensively employed in furniture-making. The *Śilpa Śāstra* and some of the Purāṇas give detailed directions for felling these trees at particular seasons when the circulation of the sap has stopped, and for seasoning the wood afterwards so as to prevent unequal contractions and cracks in drying. Trees, which have been struck by lightning, or knocked down by inundations, storms or elephants, or which have fallen towards the south side, as well as those which grow on burial, burning or consecrated grounds, or at the confluence of large rivers, or by the roadside, also those which have withered tops, or an entanglement of heavy creepers on them, or bear thorns, or are the receptacles of many honey-combs and birds' nests, are reckoned unfit for the fabrication of bedsteads, as they are inauspicious, and are sure to bring on misfortune, disease and death.[113] Some of the woods commended are supposed to be most propitious when used singly, such as the *gambhār*, the *āsan*, the *śiśu* and the sandal ; others may be used single or jointly, such as the teak and the *śāl*, and the *haridrā* and the *kadamba* ;

112. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, LXXIX. 2. (p. 398). 113. *Ibid.* LXXIX. 3-4. (p. 399).

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but the *Dalbergia ougeinensis* and the mango should never be used separately ; the last may be used for the legs of bedsteads, but the frame work should be of some stronger wood. The sandal wood is good enough by itself ; but it is most highly prized when [102] mounted with gold and jewels.[114] But the best of all materials for bedsteads, according to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, is ivory. It should be used solid for the legs, and in thin plates for inlaying on the frame-work which should be of some choice wood. In selecting ivory about two thicknesses at the root of the tusk, which is hollow, should be rejected, if the animal from which it is taken come from the plain ; but if it be a mountain grazer, somewhat less.[115] Great stress is also laid on the venation of the ivory. If the figures formed by the venation be of auspicious objects, the substance is good, otherwise it should be rejected. In the case of wood venation is approved, but large knots, hollows, and perforations by worms or insects, are strongly condemned, and detailed descriptions are given of the different kinds of misfortune which await the unfortunate wight who happens to sleep on a bedstead with knots in the end, in the shaft, in the globular central bulging, or in the top of its legs. The frame-work, according to the authority quoted, should have mouldings above and below, or be carved in various ornamental figures, or inlaid with gold, ivory and precious stones.

The standard measure for carpenter's work is the *aṅgula,* or finger's breadth of eight barley corns divested of their husk, and laid side by side. This finger would be all but exactly equal to an inch ; practically native carpenters, both in Bengal and the North Western Provinces, take the English inch to be equal to eight barley corns or *jaos.* Of this scale the royal bed should measure a hundred, that is eight feet and four inches in length. For princes, a length of ninety inches, or seven feet six inches, is held sufficient. The prime minister comes in for eightyfour inches, the commander-in-chief for seventy-eight, and the high priest for seventy-two. [116] The rule as laid down is imperative ; but I fancy the author intended some exceptions, otherwise His Grace the Hindu Archbishop, who happened to be somewhat of a grenadier in height and of Falstaffian proportions, would have made a sad time of it in his bed of barely six feet, unless he got over it by a special dispensation. The breadths of these several bedsteads measured three-fourths of the length, that is four feet six inches to six feet, and the height one-fourth, or one foot six inches to two feet one inch.[117] Nothing has been said

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114. kevalacandanaracitaṃ kāñcanaguptaṃ vicitraratnayutam /
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Bṛhat Saṃhitā, p. 401.

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117. āyāmastryaṃśasamaḥ pādocchrāyaḥ sakukṣiśirāḥ //
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in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* about the size of bedsteads for ordinary people, but it is to be presumed that its measure was not subject to any sliding scale.

As none of the bedsteads carved on the temples is of natural size, it is impossible to ascertain how far the rules of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, as regards this class of furniture were respected in practice. The breadth of the bedsteads seen, as far as I can guess, is about three-fourths of the length, but the height is not always exactly one-fourth of the length, or even near it. The principal causes of diversity however are the legs. Unlike the North Indian *cārpoy*, whose legs are almost invariably of the same shape, the Uriyā bedsteads display legs of at least a score of different fanciful shapes quite unlike each other, some of them very similar to European designs of the present day, or such as may be copied to advantage. The woodcuts Nos. 26 to 30, exhibit some of the typical forms, but they are by no means the most select. They were copied as they were met with without careful comparison and selection ; but such as they are they will most likely prove interesting. Woodcut No. 26, from Mukteśvara, exhibits a very simple form with a plain border and legs carved like lion's paws. No. 27, from the same locality, is remarkable for the manner in which the lion paws are fixed to the platform, not at the angles as usual, but considerably within the borders. No. 28, from the Great Tower, has very chastely designed legs, and the border of the platform is set off with a complicated series of mouldings. The legs of No. 29, from the same place, are somewhat like those of the last, but its platform has a bevelled edge and no moulding. [**103**] Before it are seen a footstool with turned legs, and a curiously shaped vessel which I take to be a spittoon—two articles of frequent occurence as accessories to bedsteads. To a nation so inordinately addicted to chewing betel leaves, the spittoon is a most indispensable article of furniture, and in groups and court scenes, it often occurs in the hand of an attendant. The footstool when placed besides bedstead served the purposes of a step for ascending on the bed, but it was also used as a stand for the betel box, drinking cups, water carafés, or flagons for wine. Woodcut No. 30, from the Great Tower, exhibits the richest bedstead I have seen in Orissan sculpture. It is mounted on an elaborately carved dais, and has very pretty legs of a square pattern, the like of which are very common in Bengal in the present day. On one side of the bedstead is attached a semi-circular head-piece, designed to prevent the pillow from falling over. The bedding (Sanskrit *talpa*) appears to have been stuffed, and the stuffing kept in its place by tufting. There was a large thick pillow on its upper side, but my artist forgot to copy it. From a slightly projecting mark under the frame, I fancy that such bedsteads were sometimes provided with secret recesses for the deposit of valuables and jewellery, as is still the case in some parts of the country. The bedsteads were used both for sleeping, and as ottomans or sofas.

Thrones : The throne designed by Phidias for his renowned Olympian Jupiter was a large, high-backed arm-chair, elaborately carved, and sumptuously decorated, but still a chair, or a seat for one person, as the word *thronos* originally meant in Greek, in contradistinction to the *dithros* or couch for holding two or more persons, and the

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Thrones : The throne designed by Phidias for his renowned Olympian Jupiter was a large, high-backed arm-chair, elaborately carved, and sumptuously decorated, but still a chair, or a seat for one person, as the word *thronos* originally meant in Greek, in contradistinction to the *dithros* or couch for holding two or more persons, and the

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Egyptian thrones as preserved in sculptures and paintings are all huge chairs of some kind or other. The Indian throne differed entirely from these. It was founded on the model of the *takhtapoṣ* or bedstead, and was distinguished from it only by its mountings and decorations. According to the *Yukti-kalpa-taru* two sizes were common, one eight cubits square and four cubits high, and the other four cubits square and two cubits high. The former was called *Rājapātra*, and the latter *Rājāsana*. The angles of the square, however, were not always left entire, and by the way in which they were cut off, the seat became six, eight, or ten-sided. The great height of the seat necessitated a flight of steps in front, but whether the steps extended to the whole length of a side, or only covered a portion of it, I cannot ascertain. Around the platform, there was a railing, but there is nothing to show that there was any raised back to lean upon : probably there was none, as the large pillow or *tākiyā*, which formed an important element of the seat, rendered it superfluous. The name of the throne, *Siṃhāsana*, is supposed to have been derived from the images of lions (*Siṃha*), which originally formed its supports, but the secondary meaning of a state-chair or throne, soon set aside the derivative meaning of a "lion seat", and such solecistic words as *Padma-siṃhāsana*, "lotus-lion-seat", *Gaja-siṃhāsana*, "elephant-lion-seat", like the Yankee "neck-handkerchief", got into currency from very early times. The objects ordinarily selected for the decoration of the legs were images of lotuses, conch shells, elephants, geese, lions, pitchers, deer, and horses. The thrones were named differently according to the forms in which the legs were carved. Thus a throne made of *gambhār* wood with mountings of gold and rubies, having the sides festooned with carvings of lotus flowers, and the feet shaped like lotus buds, was named the "lotus throne". It had a lining of scarlet cloth, and for supports of the frame-work eight to twelve human figures, each twelve fingers long. A throne made of the above named wood with silver and crystal mountings, white lining, and carvings of shells on the frame and the feet, was called the "conch-shell throne", *Śaṅkha siṃhāsana*. It had twenty-seven figured supports. A throne made of jack-wood, with gold, amethyst, coral and *lapis lazuli* mountings, scarlet cloth-lining, and carvings of lines of elephants on the frame, and of elephant heads at the feet, was called an "elephant throne". In the same way, the "goose throne", (*Haṃsa siṃhāsana*), was so called from having figures of geese carved on the frame and on the feet. It was made of *śāla* wood, mounted with gold, topazes and agates, and lined with yellow cloth. It had twenty-one human figures for supports. The "lion throne" was made of sandal wood, mounted with gold, diamonds, mother-o-pearls, and lined with white cloth. It had, as its name implies, carvings of elephants on the frame and on the feet, and twenty-one human figures for supports. The "pitcher throne", (*Ghaṭa siṃhāsana*) was made of *campaka* wood, and mounted with gold and emeralds ; it had lines of pitchers carved on the frame, lotus buds on the feet, and blue cloth for lining. Its figured supports numbered twenty-two. When the throne happened to be made of *Nima* wood (*Malea azadirachta*), mounted with gold and sapphires carved with lines of deer on the frame, and deer heads on the feet, and lined with blue cloth, it was called a "deer throne", (*Mṛga siṃhāsana*). And when it happened to be made of the *Mesua ferrea*

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wood, mounted with gold and diverse kinds of jewels, lined with various coloured cloth, and carved with figures of horses, and horses' heads at the feet, it was called a "horse throne", (*Haya simhāsana*). It had seventyfour human figures for supports. Besides these the Garuḍa throne, (*Garuḍāsana*), for Viṣṇu, the Bull throne, (*Bṛṣāsana*), for Śiva, and the Peacock throne for Kārtikeya, are frequently mentioned. But I have seen none of these in sculpture. A plain *takhtapoṣ* [**104**] with carved legs, and moulded frames, is what is most common, and carvings of animals and human figures are rather exceptions than otherwise. Even the two large thrones of Jagannātha in the Puri and the Guṇḍicā temples, are perfectly plain and uncarved. It should be added, however, that it is possible that the structures which I have taken for *simhāsanas* or thrones were intended only for *pīṭhas* or ottoman seats and not thrones.

Sofas, Chairs, Benches, &c. : Of ottomans, five kinds are described in books ; the first measuring three feet by one foot six inches, with a height of nine inches, called *Sukhāsana* ; the second, six feet by three, with a height of one foot six inches, called *Jayāsana* ; the third, nine feet by four feet six inches, with a height of two feet three inches, called *Śubhāsana* ; the fourth, twelve feet by six, with a height of three feet, called *Siddhyāsana* ; and fifth, fifteen feet by seven feet six inches, with a height of three feet nine inches, called *Sampatāsana*. Others, called *Janaka*, *Rājapīṭha*, *Kelipīṭha* and *Aṅgapīṭha*, are also occasionally mentioned. These were made, according to choice, of metal, stone or wood, and carved into various shapes. Of metals, gold, silver, copper, and brass, were most esteemed, and iron condemned, except for purposes of incantations. Of stones, the gritty sandstone alone was condemned, and the other kinds recommended with the proviso, that the colour of the stone should correspond with that of the planet which presided for the time being on the destiny of the person who was to use the seat ; thus when a man happened to be under the influence of Saturn, he had to use a stone seat of a blue colour ; but if Venus happened to be the presiding planet, a bright yellow stone was the most appropriate. Crystal formed an exception to this rule, and was reckoned fit for use at all times. As regards wood, the mango, the *jāman*, the *kadamba*, and all very light woods, were, as a matter of course, held unfit, as also all very heavy, knotty wood with irregular veins. The most appropriate woods were the sandal, *gambhāra*, *sāla*, *śiśu*, ebony, teak, *bakula*, etc. Seats of these various descriptions are frequently met with in sculpture. A very good specimen of the first kind of sofa occurs in the second compartment of the Amarāvatī stone now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, where it is provided with corner posts and a tester frame, and is being carried about on the shoulders of men in a procession. Images of gods and Hindu bridegrooms are to this day carried about in sedans of this description, and they are known under the old name of *Sukhāsana*. Their short height makes them peculiarly fitted for this purpose. The other kinds were intended to be kept as fixtures, i.e., not much moved about. In sculpture the ends of their legs are frequently carved into the form of lion's paws, or eagle's claws, and the shafts of the legs are sometimes, but not often, shaped like the legs of those animals. Cane *moḍās* are also frequently met with, shaped very much in the same way as now (Illustration No. 164). A variety of it with

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a raised back is shown in Woodcut No. 31, taken, like the named Illustration, from one of Mr. Fergusson's plates of Amarāvatī sculptures. Seats similar to it are common enough in the North Western Provinces, though the requirements of Europeans have caused a change in the form of the back-rest. That they were common in former days is evident from a verse in Kālidāsa's *Kumāra Sambhava*, where the mountain-king Himālaya is described to have offered such seats to seven sages, who came with the proposal of marriage of his daughter Umā with Mahādeva.[118] At a much earlier period, we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and even in the *Ṛgveda* seats or chairs of gold described as invariable accompaniments of royalty. Thus Apamanyot, "the grandson of the waters", in the last named work, is portrayed as "of golden aspect, of golden hue, and shining, seated on a seat of gold".[119] The mention of carpenters in that work [120] implies the existence of wooden furniture, and chairs and stools would be the most probable articles of that description that would be turned out by such artizans; for had they been employed, as has been supposed by some, in the fabrication of only cars and waggons, they would have been named *Rathakāra*s, and not *Sūtradhara*s or *Takṣas*. In the time of Manu's *Laws*, the demand for cabinet-ware was sufficiently brisk to render the establishment of a distinct class or caste of men necessary for exclusive devotion to carpentry.

In Orissa, wooden stools and cane *moḍās* were, it seems, the ordinary form of raised seats. The *moḍā*, is identically of the same shape as is common now. Wooden stools appear under different forms. Woodcut No. 32, exhibits a well-finished specimen; it occurs repeatedly on the Great Tower. But the most remarkable among the stools are those which are mounted on crossed legs very much like the folding camp-stools of the present day (woodcuts Nos. 33 and 34); though, whether they were so made as to fold or not, it is of course impossible now to determine. Fold-stools like these are not infrequently represented in the illuminations of mediaeval European manuscripts, and formerly when a bishop was required to officiate in any but his own cathedral church where his throne was erected, a folding stool was placed [105] for him in the church, and he frequently carried one with him in his journeys. Among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, they seem to have been very common, as both Wilkinson and Layard have figured a great variety of them. In Orissa, they occur both on the Great Tower, and on the Temple of Muktesvara. Occasionally these folding stools were used as tables, and on the Great Tower, one may be seen holding either chessmen, or dice, or a roll of paper, with two persons seated on the opposite sides. (Illustration No. 24.) In the Temple of Muktesvara, it is used as a book-stand.

Of benches and chairs with backs and arm-rests, no specimens have been seen among Bhuvaneśvara sculptures, but at Amarāvatī long benches, with high backs of different designs, not unoften of the Buddhist rail pattern, are common. Some of them have arm-rests. Woodcut No. 35, represents a very common form; it has well-carved and

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118. Canto VI. v. 43.
119. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II. 301.
120. *Ibid.* I. 162, 175; IV. 85.

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turned legs, battened seat, and a sloping back of carved work. Woodcut No. 36, has arm-rests with rounded tops, the back being made of a single wavy bar without any intermediate support. These were used sometimes with, and sometimes without, cushions and pillows. The last had a footstool of a rich pattern in front, which is shown below under a separate head (No. 42.) Chairs with or without arm-rests, are likewise frequently met with, and of designs which for their time were certainly remarkable, though by no means displaying the taste, elegance, and richness which characterised ancient Egyptian and Assyrian furniture. For easy reference, a few of these like the benches, have been copied on the margin from Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, but so delineated as to show their character and perspective more fully than can be perceived in the positions they occupy in Mr. Fergusson's plates. Woodcut No. 37 shows a form which occurs repeatedly as a repository for some sacred object, or a throne for a royal or distinguished personage. Its seat is of about the same height as that of an ordinary chair, so that one can sit on it while resting his feet on the ground ; its sides and the back are protected by rails, strengthened by a double line of ornamented cross bars. Its arm-rests, seat -frame and the bar on the top of the back are all neatly carved, and the last terminates on each side in an alligator head, an ornament which under the name of *makara-mukha* is of frequent occurrence in Indian sculpture and carved work. The legs of the chair are formed by doubling the leg of the *Takhtāpoṣ*, No. 29, with an intervening ribbed globe. There is nothing to show how the seat was formed, but from traces of cushions and pillows, I think it was boarded. No. 38, is as heavy and primitive as the last, but it has no arm-rest and its back is low. In its general character, No. 39 belongs to the same class with the preceding two ; but there is more art and finish in its details. The legs are slender, well-turned, and on the whole as good as those of ordinary chairs of the present day. The ends of the top bar of the back projects far out, have the usual *makara* head terminals, and are supported by figures of rampant lions ; the fore ends of the arm-rests bend out latterally, and have similar terminals and supports, and the railing is light and chaste. No. 40 belongs to a different class and resembles a modern chair much more closely than the preceding. Its legs are turned, carved, and finished much more carefully, the back and arm-rests are light and comfortable, and the whole has a modern look about it. No. 41 looks like a dwarf chair ; construction of its reclining arched back is peculiar, and its seat is semicircular behind, but in its construction there is very little to indicate its old primitive character. The legs are particularly worthy of notice. Joiner's art seems to have made sufficient progress at the time these chairs were made, and that at the lowest computation about two thousand years ago, to enable the carpenters to fix the legs with sufficient firmness by tenon and mortise joints, to dispense with the necessity of cross bars at the lower end—a provision often found unavoidable for the sake of strength in ill-made furniture of the present day. The fact of such chairs and benches having been made for ordinary use, indicates a much higher state of civilization than could be assumed if Mr. Fergusson's theory of the nude figures, who frequently occupy them, being of the so called Dasyu, or aboriginal race, be accepted. As already stated, these chairs were most likely fitted with stuffed cushions, as they are not infre-

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quently provided with pillows near the back ; but in the absence of colour and details, it is difficult to make out how they were set off.

Mode of sitting : The ordinary mode of sitting on ottomans in the saloons in company of friends, or on ceremonial occasions, was an erect one with legs crossed ; but when at ease, the reclining position with one arm thrown over the *tākiyā* was preferred. This latter was also the practice of the Romans, who sat reclined **[106]** supported by the left elbow, *et cubito remanete presso.*[121] On stools, chairs, and benches, the most common style was to sit with one leg hanging and the other placed on the opposite thigh. Sometimes the legs were crossed ; at others, both the legs were allowed to hang in the European style, the feet resting on low stools ; and this was evidently reckoned by far the most dignified mode of sitting ; for figures of gods are generally so seated ; they also occur with one leg hanging and the other folded, but never on the ground, or on a cushion with the legs crossed, as is usual with men in the present day. That persons of rank also adopted the same style, is more than probable, as we find Kaikeyī in the *Rāmāyaṇa*

"When she saw her son, so long away,
Returning after many a day,
And from her golden seat in joy,
Spring forward to her darling boy".[122]

Other instances of the same description may be easily multiplied. When men of rank are represented seated on sofas, they are attended by servants holding *cauris* and an umbrella ; but in *zenana* scenes the attendants bear betel boxes and palm-leaf fans. The ordinary attendant in such cases is a pot-bellied, big-breasted, elderly story-teller, seated in front. Sometimes female musicians and songstresses are also delineated. The mistress generally sits cross-legged, occasionally having in her hand a flat, small, circular mirror with a long projecting handle, a requisite of female toilet which seems to have been a great favourite with ancient Indian belles, and is frequently alluded to in old Sanskrit works.

Footstools : The footstool, like the *thrgnus* of the Greeks, and the *scabellum* of the Romans, was an important article of furniture in Indian households, and frequent mention of it is made in ancient works. For gods and goddesses the most appropriate foot-stool was a full-blown lotus. It had a charming effect in setting off a piece of sculpture, and typified a most elegant poetical idea. For such personages seats of lotus flowers were not uncommon. For obvious physical reasons, such a style of depicting footstools, could not be very congruous for human beings ; and yet for the setting off to advantage of seated figures, footstools of some kind or other were absolutely required. Accordingly, we see a great number of sculptured footstools of various designs and patterns. Two of these are shown on the margin. (Woodcuts Nos. 42 and 43.) They are as closely like moden English footstools as can well be imagined. The first is from Amarāvatī, and the second, from Bhuvaneśvara. The stool shown in Woodcut No. 29, is a form of which counter-parts, under the name of *jalacauki*, occur in almost every Bengali house. At *śrāddhas*

121. *Hor.* I, *Od.* XXII. 8.

122. Griffith's Translation, II. 289.

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and marriages, such stools invariably form parts of consecrated gifts. The curious reader will notice many other forms, some of elaborate workmanship, in Mr. Fergusson's work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

Teapoys: As stands for betel boxes, drinking cups and the like, the first kind of footstool, (Woodcut No. 29) was, as already described, generally used, but it would seem from some bas-reliefs on the Bhuvaneśvara temples, that another kind of stand was preferred for such purposes in rich houses. It resembled very closely the modern teapoy, but without the characteristic three legs, it being fixed in a thick heavy carved block, which gave it much greater firmness on the ground than modern teapoys can claim. The stems of all the specimens were carved into a series of balls fixed upon each other, or formed into a twisted flute, and the tops carved in various designs. Woodcut No. 44 exhibits a plain specimen, and No. 45 a rich one, both taken from the Great Tower ; the latter had a betel box on its top, but in such a decayed state that no trustworthy drawing could be made of it.

[107] Fans: In so hot a climate as that of India, a fan is an absolute necessity, and it has been in use from a very archaic period. It does not seem, however, to have, in early times, attained any great excellence in its formation. In sculpture, it always appears as a circular or an oval, disk of some light material, such as palm-leaf or matting, mounted on a long slender handle, or provided with a haft on one side of the rim, so closely similar to what is manufactured in the present day, that the specimens shown on the margin, (Woodcuts Nos. 46, 47, 48), copied from originals on the Great Tower, may well be taken for modern articles. In Sanskrit works, fans of cloth, peacock's feathers, cane, bamboo, and other artices, are frequently mentioned ; but everywhere pre-eminence is assigned to the well known palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*. In treatises on medicine some fans are said to overcome phlegm, others bile, and others heat ; thus the *Rājavallabha*, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* of Rājā Rādhākānta Deva : "The palm leaf fan overcomes disturbances of all three humours, and is light and agreeable ; the bamboo fan causes heat and irritability, and promotes inordinate secretion of the airy and the bilious humours ; the cane, the cloth, and the peacock feather fans, overcome disturbances of the three humours ; the hair fan is invigorating, &c".[123] According to some practitioners, the palm-leaf fan promotes phlegm, and for patients suffering from diseases due to an excess of phlegm, a cloth fan, or palm-leaf fan covered with cloth, is generally recommended.

Umbrella: The umbrella and the *cāmara* are represented very largely, but in no great variety. As insignia of royalty they were held in greater estimation than even the crown ; and for goddesses, saints, and men of consequence, they are rarely forgotten. In Europe in the present day, the umbrella, though a highly useful article as a *parapluie* or a *parasol*, carries with it an idea of effeminacy. In ancient times *skiádeion* was held by

123. tālavyajanaguṇaḥ / tridoṣaśamanatvam / laghutvañca / vaṃsavyajanaguṇaḥ / rukṣatvam, uṣṇatvaṃ, vāyupittakāritvaṃ ca // vetravastramayūrapucchavyajanaguṇaḥ / tridoṣanāśitvam / vālavyajanaguṇaḥ / tejaskaratvam /

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Aristophanes as a lady's top, and the Romans assigned it to their gentle women, as an article befitting their delicacy. The Greeks, nevertheless, used it as a mystic symbol in some of their sacred festivals, and the Romans introduced the custom of hanging an umbrella in the basilican churches as a part of the insignia of office of the judge sitting in the basilica. It is said that "On the judgment hall being turned into a church, the umbrella remained, and in fact occupied the place of the canopy over thrones and the like", and Beatian, an Italian Herald, says "that a vermilion umbrella in a field argent symbolises dominion".[124] It is also believed that the cardinal's hat is a modification of the umbrella in the basilican churches. Among the ancient Egyptians, the umbrella carried with it a mark of distinction, and persons of quality alone could use it. The Assyrians reserved it for royal personages only. "The umbrella or parasol", says Layard, "that emblem of royalty so universally adopted by Eastern nations, was generally carried over the king in time of peace, and sometimes even in war. In shape it resembled very closely those now in common use; but it is always seen open in the sculptures. It was edged with tassels, and was usually ornamented at the top by a flower or some other ornament. On the later bas-reliefs a long piece of embroidered linen, or silk, falling from one side like a curtain appears to screen the king completely from the sun. The parasol was reserved exclusively for the monarch, and is never represented as borne over any other person".[125] The Moslim sovereigns of India were likewise very particular about the use of the umbrella by other than royal personages. But the Indians, like the Egyptians, were not so exclusive. They permitted the *chāttā* to be used by other than kings, though they entertained the idea that the right to bear an umbrella, belonged chiefly to persons of considerable distinction. The king is par excellence the *Chatrapati*, or "the Lord of the Umbrella", and the title is even now held in higher estimation than that of Rājā or Mahārājā. The king of Burmah is proud to call himself "the Lord of Twenty-four Umbrellas", and the Emperor of China carries that number of parasols even to his hunting field. The *Mahābhārata* makes frequent mention of the umbrella as a mark of royal dignity, and, in the *Dānadharma* section, enjoins the gift of white umbrellas having a hundred ribs, as a religious act calculated to ensure the donor long residence in the heaven of Indra, respected by gods, heavenly choristers and Brāhmaṇs.[126] Pāṇini mentions the *chatra*, and gives its derivation (VI. 4.97), and the Smṛtikāras, both ancient and modern, all follow the *Mahābhārata* in praising the gift of the umbrella, as an act of great merit. According to the *Yuktikalpataru* umbrellas are of two kinds, special or royal, and ordinary. The latter is

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124. *Patents of Inventions, Abridgments of Specifications relating to Umbrellas, Parasols and Walking Sticks*, 178, 1866.

125. Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 327.

126. chatraṃ hi bharataśreṣṭhaḥ yaḥ pradadyāt dvijātaye /
śubhraṃ śataśalākaṃ vai sa pretya sukhamedhate //
sa śakraloke vasati pūjyamāno dvijātibhiḥ /
apsarobhiśca satataṃ daivaiśca bharatarṣabha //

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again of two kinds, according as it is handled—*sadaṇḍa*, or handleless—*nirdaṇḍa*.[127] The former was adapted to open [108] and shut at pleasure. Its principal parts were the stem, sliding frame, ribs, threads, cloth, and pin. The stem or handle, in a well-made umbrella, should be in the present age four cubits long, the sliding frame two spans, the ribs three cubits, and the cloth twice the length of the ribs. The pin, which supplies, the place of the modern spring to lock the sliding frame, is reckoned at eight fingers. These proportions, however, should, in the opinion of the author under notice, vary according to the rank of the owner. Rules are also given by him for royal umbrellas of various kinds. An umbrella with the stem and frame of choice wood, and of ribs of selected bamboo, and thread and cloth of a red colour, is good for kings. It is called *Prasāda*. The *Pratāpa* is made of a blue stem and cloth, with a golden top and hinge; it is the most appropriate for princes. If the stem and slide be made of sandal wood, and the threads and cloth be of a pure white colour, and the top be surmounted with a golden *kalasa* or knob, the umbrella would be most auspicious for kings. It is called *Kanakadaṇḍa*. The most important, however, was the one which was named *Navadaṇḍa*, and recommended to be used on great state occasions, such as coronations, royal marriages, &c. Its stem, sliding frame, ribs and lock pin, were made of pure gold; its cloth and strings of choice colour, and it was decorated with golden knobs, figures of ducks and cars, and fringes of thirty-two strings of pearls, each formed of thirty-two beads. Its top used to be surmounted with a pure white brilliant, and the lower end of the stem with a ruby and a carnelian, and its most appropriate appendage was a tassel of yak tail, one cubit long. The *Agni Purāṇa* (C. 224) does not enter into any great detail, but recommends other materials besides cloth for the construction of royal umbrellas. According to it, "it is conducive to the good of princes to have their umbrellas made of the feathers of geese, or of peacocks, or of parrots, or of herons (*vaka*) : but they should not be made of feathers of various kinds mixed together. The colour of the umbrella, when intended for the use of Kṣatriyas, should be white, and when for that of Brāhmaṇs, other than of that colour. Its handle should be made of a cane from three to eight joints in length". The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* recommends the feathers of geese, fowl, peacocks, and cranes, (*sārasa*), as also new cloth, as the best materials for the covering of white umbrellas, the decorations to consist of pearl fringes, garlands and crystal mountings, the handle being of gold, six cubits long and divided into seven or nine sections, and the area one-half the length of the handle. For crown-princes, queens, generalissimos and chief judges, the haft should be reduced half a cubit, and the area to be two and a half cubits. For ordinary people, the umbrella may be of cloth or peacock's feathers, according to choice, the shape being square, and the handle rounded.[128] The Woodcut

127. viśeṣaścātha sāmānyaṃ chatrasya dvividhā bhidā /
rājñaśchatraṃ viśeṣākhyaṃ sāmānyaṃ cānyaducyate //
et seq. to the 13th *Śloka*, *Bṛhat Saṃhita*, p. 377.

128. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 377.

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in the margin, No. 49, represents the only kind of *chātā* that has been met with in sculpture ; it has two tassels of yak's tail for ornaments. The sliding frame is visible in some specimens, but not in so distinct a form as to enable one to make out its exact character. From Layard's drawings, it would seem that the Ninevite umbrella had a sliding frame.

Camara : The *cāmara* or fly-flapper reckons next in importance to the umbrella among royal insignia. It is frequently referred to in Sanskrit works, and the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja Rāja dwells on it at great length. According to it, there were two classes of *cāmaras* in use in former times, one "mountain-born", and the other "sea-born". "The former were made of the hair of cattle common on the Meru, the Himālaya, the Vindhya, the Kailāsa, the Malaya, the Udaya, the Asta and the Gandhamādana mountains. The *cāmara* of the Meru mountain was of a deep yellow colour ; that of the Himālaya, white ; that of the Vindhya, white and dense ; that from Kailāsa, black and white mixed ; that from Malaya, white and yellow mixed ; that from Udaya, blood-red ; that from Asta, blue and white shades mixed ; and that from Gandhamādana, sometimes black, and sometimes pale yellow".[129] Of these varieties, those which had long, light bright and dense hair, were reckoned the best, and those which had short, heavy, discoloured and dull hair were condemned as bad. The first set of qualities ensured to the owner of the *cāmaras* possessing them, long life, [109] great valour, fame and enduring prosperity, while the second set brought on shortness of life, disease, sorrow and death.[130] The sea-born *cāmaras* are said to come from the seven Paurāṇic seas. The animals which yield them are believed to dwell in those seas, and marine animals bite the bushy part off from their tails and cast them on the shore, where fortunate people collect them. Each sea has its own peculiar kind of *cāmara*, and the author describes them in detail. He adds that the most characteristic quality of the mountain-born *cāmara*, is the ease with which it burns when thrown on the fire, and the peculiar *mis mis* sound which it produces when burning. The sea-born *cāmara* does not easily take fire, but when it does burn, it emits

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129. devaiścamaryaḥ kila bālahetoḥ sṛṣṭā himakṣmādhara-kandareṣu /
āpītavarṇāśca bhavanti tāsāṃ kṛṣṇāśca lāngūlabhavāḥ sitāśca //1
sneho mṛdutvaṃ bahubālatā ca vaiśadyamalpāsthinibandhanatvaṃ /
śauklyañca teṣāṃ guṇasampaduktā biddhālpaluptāni na śobhanāni //2
adhyardhahastapramito'sya daṇḍo hasto'tha vāratnisamo'thavānyaḥ /
kāṣṭhācchubhāt kāñcanarūpyaguptādratnairvicitraiśca hitāya rājñām //3

130. abhiṣeke vivāhe ca grahāṇāṃ prītibardhanaḥ /
merau himālaye vindhye kailāse malaye tathā //
udaye'stagirau caiva gandhamādanaparvate /
evameteṣu śaileṣu yāścamaryo bhavanti hi //
tāsāṃ bālasya jāyeta cāmaretyabhidhā bhuvi /
āpītā kanakādrijā himagireḥ śubhrāyatā vindhyajāḥ /
et seq. to the seventh *śloka, Yuktikalpataru.*

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profuse, dense smoke, and produces a crackling sound like *caṭ caṭ*.[131] It is evident that by the mountain-born *cāmara* the author refers to the tail hair of the Yak, Gour, Gayal and other bovine animals which continue even to this day to yield *cāmaras* of various kinds ; but what he means by sea-born *cāmaras*, I cannot make out ; and yet from the details of their colour, length, density and sound produced when burning, it is obvious that he alludes to some imported articles which he had seen. Of these several kinds of *cāmaras* the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* notices only the yak *caury*, which, it says, is sometimes yellow, sometimes white, and sometimes black, the best being that which is white, glistening, soft, dense, beautiful, and enclosing only a few small tail bones. Its handle may vary in length from a span to a cubit ; it should be made of some choice wood, mounted with gold, silver, and jewels.[132] Of the handles appropriate for the various kinds of *cāmaras*, the articles of which they should be made,—gold, silver, and the like ;—the mountings they should have,—jewellery of various kinds ;—their thickness and length with reference to the respective ranks of the persons for whom they are to be made, the author also gives elaborate descriptions ; but they are not sufficiently interesting to be worth translating. The Smṛtis also describe various kinds of *cāmaras*; and speak of the merit of presenting them to Brāhmaṇs on particular occasions, but I shall forbear to quote from them, as it is impossible to identify in sculpture the different varieties mentioned by them. The article itself is frequently met with in sculpture, and represented as a mass of flowing hair mounted on a handle more or less ornamented. The woodcut in the margin (No. 50) shows the typical form, but the mass of hair of which it is formed is not always made of a uniform thickness. In some specimens, the hair is short, but thick-set and very bushy ; in others it is long, flowing and light. The pellicles of the tail-feathers of peacocks, and the crested tops of those feathers were also used in making *cāmaras*, but I have not seen them delineated in sculpture, nor have I noticed any mention of horse-hair as a material for *cāmaras*.

Domestic vessels, utensils, &c : Of household vessels and utensils, the sculptures of Bhuvaneśvara represent but little. They are subjects which the domestic economy and the the religious obligations of the Hindus, studiously drove to the background, and it is not to be expected that they would occupy any prominent position in sculptural decoration. Even in that great sanctuary of ancient art, the sacred land of Greece, where the taste of the people and the ingenuity of artists endowed everything with the halo of beauty, the number and variety of domestic vessels to be seen in sculpture is extremely limited. There was, however, one exception, and it referred to the class which included vessels for fluids. In a country where drinking wine was prevalent, and fashionable vases, and tazzas, and goblets could not but attain some eminence, the exquisite perfection to

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131. sthalaje jalaje caiva bhāvyametadviśeṣaṇaṃ /
sthalajaṃ sukhadāhyaṃ hi dāhe miṣamiṣāyate //
jalajaṃ vahnidurdāhyaṃ mahāntaṃ dhūmamudgiret /
cāmarāṇāṃ samuddiṣṭamityevaṃ lakṣaṇadvayaṃ //

132. *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, p. 378.

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which they attained, has hitherto claimed the highest meed of praise. In India even this class of vessels has not attained the distinction which they deserved. With the exception of the *kalasa* or jar, there is no vessel for fluid which is worthy of notice for the beauty of its form, or the elaboration and art in its finish. Even the *kalasa* as domestic vessel has no claim to any aesthetic excellence. In sculpture, however, it has been treated with great taste and elegance. As the crowning member of temples, it is geneally well conceived and elaborately finished, and the various forms it has assumed under different treatment are all remarkable for taste and beauty. On the temple of Yameśvara, to the west of the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, there are at least fifty different varieties of *Kalasas*, many of [110] which can be placed besides Grecian and Roman vases without reflecting any discredit on the taste of their artificers. Illustration No. 151, from this temple represents a typical figure ; and its elegant outline and chaste ornamentation will doubtless commend it to the approbation of connoisseurs. Illustration No. 152 is from the top of the Great Tower and is also a typical specimen on'the model of which most of crowning *Kalasas* of Bhuvaneśvara temples have been fashioned. Jars for the storage of water were formed on the same model, but they had no broad base to rest upon, and, in the majority of instances, their height did not exceed their breadth, and accordingly they looked dumpy. (Illustrations Nos. 27 and 28)

Of smaller vessels for water, Illustration No. 153A shows a remarkable specimen from the Great Tower ; it is a water carafe or goblet in which water was served out, or kept for ready use. In Calcutta, a vessel somewhat similar to it was in use until thirty years ago, when it went out of fashion. (Illustration No. 153B). It was made of metal either brass or silver, and known under the name of *amṛti* or the "nectar bottle", from which it would not be unreasonable to infer that it was likewise used for holding more potent fluids than water. In shape it was very much like a hock bottle, and it stood from nine to fourteen inches in height ; it was capacious enough to hold from a pint to a quart and a half of fluid. It was set before guests, who poured out the fluid into a smaller vessel or *loṭā* for use. Illustrations Nos. 154, 155, 156 and 157 also represent vessels into which fluids were drawn from the *Kalasas* or jars, and kept until required for use, when their contents had to be poured out into cups or goblets. They occupied the place of the modern *loṭā*, but differed from it in being provided with covers. From several illustrations in Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, it would seem that they were used largely as decanters for wine, and in this respect they occupied the same position in the domestic economy of the Hindus which the *arnstichos*, *arntaina*, *arnstér* and *khuados* did in that of the Greeks, or the *simpulum* and *trulla* in that of the ancient Romans, the *kalasa* representing the mixing vase or *khrater*. Of cups or goblets for drinking wine, Illustrations, Nos. 158 and 159 show typical specimens. They are common both at Bhuvaneśvara and Sāñcī. This distinction of decanters and drinking cups is indicated in Sanskrit works, in which decanters, or vessels for serving out wine, (*madya-pariveṣaṇa-pātra*), are named severally, *saraka* and *anutarṣṇa*, and the drinking cups *pānapātra*, *caṣaka*, *pārī*, and *pārika*. The modern Hindi and Bengali *sorāi* is a corruption of the *saraka*, and the name is now applied

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to a goblet. The cup for drinking wine was made of a very small size, and the Tantras limit its capacity to two, three or five *tolās*,[133] the largest containing barely two ounces, and, considering that the liquor drunk was generally raw spirit, it was the largest that would be convenient. It is worthy of note, however, that the largest was just of the same size as a modern English wine glass and the smallest a liqueur glass. For curries, sherbets, and other articles of food and drink, cups were of course made of a larger size. One of them is shown in Illustration No. 160. It is remarkable as being four-sided, and not circular as cups usually are. Illustration No. 161 shows a large bowl such as is now used for milk, soup and other fluids drunk in large quantities. No. 162 is a large, handsome bowl designed for holding solid food ; it occurs in the hand of Gaṇeśa's in the Great Tower, and is represented holding a number of ball-shaped sweetmeats (*maticura*) which the elaphocephalic divinity is leisurely taking up with his trunk. The betel-box and spittoon have already been noticed. Water-pots with a spout on one side, (Sk. *bhṛṅgāra*) are common in Bhuvaneśvara, and a vessel very like a tea-kettle appears at Sāñcī. (Illustration No. 163) It was used for sprinkling holy water before a sacred procession, even as the *gāḍu* is in the present day. Āśvalāyana recommends urns with spouts as appropriate for the sepulchre of relics of females.

Tangible evidence is wanting to show what these vessels were made of. The bulk of them, doubtless, were of baked clay, or terra cotta, such as are now so common in every part of India. In the *Ṛgveda*, frequent mention is made of earthen cooking pots (*kapālas*), and for the dressing of the *puroḍāśa* cake, the *Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa* recommends hand -made platters as purer than those turned on the potter's wheel.[134] The practice of using fresh pots on every separate occasion, a practice which was also observed by the Buddhists, and is noticed in the *Mahāwanso*,[135] gave great importance to their manufacture. Manu, Parāśara and others assigned to a particular mixed caste, the issue of a garlandmaker (*mālākāra*) by a frail daughter of a blacksmith, the *kumbhakāras*, [136] the special vocation of fashioning earthen pots. References are also not wanting to wheels for the formation, and kilns or furnaces for the baking, of such vessels. From descriptions accessible, it is probable that the old wheel did not differ from what was in use in Egypt [137] in former times, and what we are familiar with in the present day.

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133. nayanāgnivāṇasaṃkhyakarṣaistu parameśvari /
hetupātraṃ prakartavyamityuktaṃ kulasādhanaiḥ //

134. āsureṇa tu pātreṇa yatra dadyāt tilodakaṃ /
pitarastatra nāśnanti daśavarṣāṇi pañca ca //
kulālacakraghaṭitamāsuraṃ mṛṇmayaṃ smṛtaṃ /
tadeva hastaghaṭitaṃ sthālyādi daivikaṃ bhavet //
Śrāddhatattvaṃ.

135. *Mahāwanso*, B. C. 161, Ch. XXIX. p. 173.

136. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* raises their status by calling them the issue of Viśvakarmā by a Śūdrāṇī.

137. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, III. p. 164.

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Clay, however, was not the only material in use for the fabrication of domestic vessels in ancient times. The *Ṛgveda* alludes to golden cups ; and silver, copper, brass and bronze, which were well-known and used in the [III] formation of weapons, were, it is to be presumed, not neglected. The Sūtras and the *Mahābhārata*, however, leave no doubt on the subject : they frequently refer to vessels of other than gold and clay. Tvaṣṭā, the Vulcan of the Hindu pantheon, was the most celebrated artificer of metallic arms, but the Ṛbhus greatly excelled him in the formation of sacrificial vessels of wood and metal, and on one occasion Tvaṣṭā is said to have sought to slay his rivals (IV. 33.5,6) and on another, "to have applauded their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill".[138] In a mediaeval work, the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, plates made of gold, are described to remove excesses of the three humours, and promote the strength of vision ; those of silver, favourable to vision, and inimical to bile, but calculated to increase the secretion of wind and phlegm ; those of bronze, agreeable and intellectual, but favourable to undue excitement of blood and bile ; those of brass, wind-generating, irritating, hot and heat and phlegm-destroying ; those of magnetic iron, most beneficial in overcoming anasarca, jaundice and anaemia ; those of other stones and clay are inauspicious ; those of wood wholesome, but phlegm-generating ; those of leaves, wholesome invigorating and poison-destroying.[139] The *Yuktikalpataru* recommends that drinking cups for royal personages should be made of gold, silver, crystal or glass ;[140] and other authorities are equally precise on the suject.

Reference has already been made to the knowledge which the Hindus had of glass as a material for the fabrication of ornaments, but from a passage in the work above quoted, it appears that it was also used for drinking cups or tumblers, the physiological effect of drinking water from vessels of glass being described to be similar to that of vessels made of crystal.[141] What this glass was made of, I cannot ascertain from any Sanskrit work, but according to the opinion of Pliny, already quoted (*ante* p. [101]), it was made of pounded crystal, and was therefore superior to glass of all other countries. That this substance was the *lithia diaphanys* of the Greeks, there are many reasons to believe,[142] and Mr. Vincent, the editor of Arrian, says, "that clear or flint glass assumed its name from *Gálg*, crystal, is still more apparent from a passage of Diodor, *Sic. Lib.* ii., p. 128, ed. Wessel, where mention is made of both sorts, the factitious and native, *Gelon*, as he

138. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* V. p. 226.

139. doṣahṛddṛṣṭidaṃ pathyaṃ haimaṃ bhojanabhājanaṃ /
raupyaṃ bhavati cakṣuṣyaṃ pittahṛt kaphavātakṛt //
kāṃsyaṃ buddhipradaṃ rūcyaṃ raktapittaprasādajaṃ /
paittalaṃ vātakṛt rukṣamuṣṇaṃ kṛmikaphapraṇut //
et seq.—*Kālikāpurāṇa* to 2 *ślokas*.

140. tat pānapātraṃ bhūpānāṃ tajjñeyaṃ caṣakaṃ budhaiḥ /
kānakaṃ rājatañcaiva sphāṭikaṃ kācameva ca //

141. jalapātrantu tāmrasya tadabhāve mṛdo hitam /
pavitraṃ śītalaṃ pātraṃ ghaṭitaṃ sphaṭikena yat /
kācena racitaṃ tadvat tathā vaidūryasambhavam //

142. Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, II. Ap. p. 45.

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writes it. The glass coffin of Alexander is called *Galing* by Strabo".[143]

There was most probably another substance, porcelain, which was to some extent used in the formation of drinking cups and other domestic vessels, for there is little reason to doubt that the Murrhine cups, for which such fabulous prices were paid, were made of oriental porcelain, which, according to the Periplus, was "brought down from the capital of Guzerat, Ozene, (Ougein) to the port of Barygāza or Broach". "All this", adds Vincent, "seems to confirm the opinion that it was porcelain procurable in India at the time, as it now is ; and that it was brought into Egypt by the ships that went to India".[144] "Elsewhere," he says, "the mention of Carmina by Pliny, as the country where the *murrhina* were obtained, favours the supposition of procuring these vessels from India ; for the communication of Carmina with Scinde and Guzerat is almost immediate, and certainly prior to the navigation from Egypt to that coast. But in Guzerat they were obtained, when the author of the Periplus was employed in that trade ; and their arrival at the market of Broach, from the interior of India, may induce us to suppose that they came into India from the north".

Another material which was used in the manufacture of domestic vessels was leather. In the time of the *Ṛgveda* leather *maśaks* for water were well known, and Indra is praised as piercing the rain-confining skins or *maśaks* of the clouds.[145] Bottles of the same material also were evidently in common use, for Agastya in his poison-neutralizing *mantra* says " I deposit the poison in the solar orb, like a leather bottle in the house of a vendor of spirits".[146] In the *Laws* of Manu, *maśaks* for water are alluded to under the name of *dṛti*, and its peculiar form with the four feet left intact is pointed out. [147] Directions are also given for the purification of leather articles.[148] Other Smṛtis ordain that oleaginous articles preserved in leather bottles do not become impure by the contact of the impure cow-hide ; and in the present day jars of that material are in extensive use in Bengal and the North-West Provinces for the storage of oil and ghi. In the latter place, leather bags are universally [112] used for raising water from wells, and according to the law books of Śaṅkha and Likhita,[149] that water is declared pure which is kept in old leather bottles. Atri [150] is likewise of the same opinion, and adds that flowing water, and that which is raised by machinery, are not defiled. The use of such words, as *carmanta, carmapaṭṭi, vāratra, caṣa-bandha*, &c., in old Sanskrit works indicates that straps, bands and strings of leather were in common use, and sails were also made of leather or hide. No articles of the kind, however, have been seen at Bhuvaneśvara. In the boat scene at Sāñcī, leather

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143. *Ibid.* II. Ap. p. 48. 144. *Ibid.* II. Ap. p. 40.
145. Wilson's *Ṛgveda* II. 28. 146. *Ibid.* II. 204 147. *Manu.* II. 99.
148. *Ibid.* V. 199.
149. Oṃ rūparasagandhavatyaḥ pariśuddhā jīrṇacarma-karaṇḍakairabhyuddhṛtāḥ / carmakaraṇḍakaḥ carmapuṭaḥ /
150. śuci gotṛptikṛttoyaṃ prakṛtisthaṃ mahīgatam / carmabhāṇḍastu dhārābhistathā yantroddhṛtaṃ jalam //

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to be cylindrical and from eight to ten fingers long, [156] but without any flattened top, and the pen in the sculpture corresponds with this rule. It is worthy of note that Uriyā women of the present day are more proficient in reading and writing than their sister-hood in Bengal. Even the courtezans of Cuttack attach more importance to education than their representatives in Calcutta. When I visited the place two years ago, they had three schools for the education of their daughters, in the Bengali language, and those institutions were well attended. The like of them I have not seen in Bengal or the North-Western Provinces. The necessity for these schools arises from the circumstance of Bengali songs being held in great esteem by the higher classes of the people, and it being held *infra dignitate* on the part of dancing girls to sing other than Bengali songs. A similar feeling in Bengal makes the dancing girls think it a point of honor here always to sing Urdu songs, and accordingly to learn to read and write Urdu. I cannot venture to say if it is a feeling of that description that makes Italian songs most fashionable in the musical circles of Europe ; but certain it is that in every one of these cases, that which is not easily understood, is preferred to what comes home to the admirers of music. Should the sculpture be taken for a representation of a lady engaged in drawing or painting, it would still be of great interest as an index to the social condition of the people and a lithic proof of the descriptions which make Sītā, Uṣā, Ratnāvalī, and other ancient heroines proficient in painting likenesses.

Musical Instruments : Looking to the number of works which have been written on art of music by the Hindus, the success with which musical notes have been analysed, the different systems which have been adopted for the classification of the national airs and tunes, and the various kinds of instruments which have been noticed in ancient works, it is to be expected that lithic remains of at least some of the instruments of former times should be met with. Nor are they wanting at Sāñcī, Amarāvatī, and Bhuvaneśvara. Scenes representing concerts are very common at all the three places, but the number and variety of instruments in use in these parties appear, however, to have been extremely limited. Harps of two kinds are shown at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī. (Illustrations No. 164 and 166.) But none are to be seen at Bhuvaneśvara, and, indeed, no stringed instrument seems to have been in use there except the *Vīṇā*. (Illustration No. 167.) The Amarāvatī harp is in appearance very like the ancient Egyptian instrument, but it was held on the lap in a horizontal position, whereas the latter when in use, was kept in an upright position on the ground, or on a stool. The Amarāvatī guitar shown on the stone in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, has a sounding board at the lower end, and seven keys, but no bars. (Illustration No. 168.) The *Kalpa Sūtra* of Kātyāyana notices a harp with a hundred strings, but what it was like I cannot say.

Of percussion instruments, the *ḍholaka*, played either on one or both sides (Illustrations Nos. 169 and 170), is the most prevalent representative to be met with everywhere ; and was made of various shapes. Some were of large size with small ends and broad

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156. pāṇḍulekhyena phalake bhūmau vā prathamaṃ likhet /
ūnādhikantu saṃśodhyaṃ paścāt patre niveśayet //

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centres, like the *Mṛdaṅga* of our day ; others less protuberant in the middle, but with broad [114] ends like the *pākhowāj* ; others again of a very small size. (Illustration No. 172.) Of the large military drum played with a stick, the *raṇaḍhakkā* and *jayaḍhakkā*, with which the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are said to have inspired their legions with military ardour in the battle-field, no specimen has been met with at Bhuvaneśvara ; but a small variety, probably the *ṭim-ṭimi*, *Anglicé tom-tom*, or the kettledrum, so played, is not rare. The tambourine, *khañjanī*, is also met with. At Sāñcī the large war drum is common. The ceiling of the Mukteśvara porch has several scenes of concerts, in most of which the central figure is represented singing to the accompaniment of a *ḍholaka* and cymbals. Flutes, (Illustration No. 171), with latteral blowing holes, pipes, trumpets, (Illustration No. 173), and cymbals, large (*karatāla*) and small (*mandirā*), are common everywhere, but all of the ordinary modern form. The flutes were perforated with three to seven holes ; the last was probably the highest number, and the player, who could manage them was deemed highly proficient, for we find in the *Toy Cart* a servant of a courtezan claiming great superiority on that score. He says, "A pretty situation for a man of many talents ; for one who can play the flute with seven holes, the *vīṇā* with seven strings ; who can sing like a jackass, and who acknowledges no musical superior, except, perhaps, Tamburu or Nārada."[157] In one instance I noticed what appeared to me to be a pair of castanets, such as are in use in the present day, and I think that it was not unknown in ancient times in India. It occurs among the sculptures of Thebes, and Wilkinson supposes it was not only used in the Egyptian army, but by the buffoons, who danced to its sound.[158] At Bhuvaneśvara, it is represented on the ceiling of the Mukteśvara temple. The conch shell scarcely deserves to be reckoned as a musical instrument, but as it was so used, and is common, like the gong *kāṃsya*, at Bhuvaneśvara, it is necessary to name it. It was of modern shape (Illustration No. 174), and used very much in the same way as in the present day.

The conch shells of commerce are contributed by three different species ; 1st, *Turbinella rapa* ; 2nd, *Mazza rapa* ; and 3rd, *Voluta gravis*. Of these the first produces the largest shells, best adapted for wind instruments, in making which the only ingenuity required is to drill a hole at the base in such a manner as not to injure the whorls. When blown

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157. vaṃśasūcyā likhedvarṇaṃ tasya hānirbhaved dhruvaṃ /
tāmrasūcyā tu vibhavo bhavenna tat kṣayo bhavet //
mahālakṣmīrbhavennityaṃ suvarṇasya śalākayā /
bṛhannalasya sūcyā vai mativṛddhiḥ prajāyate //
tathā agnimayairdevi putrapautradhanāgamaḥ /
agnimayaiścitrakāṣṭhamayaiḥ /
raityena vipulā lakṣmīḥ kāṃsyena bharaṇaṃ bhavet //
aṣṭāṅgulapramāṇena daśāṅgulena vāthavā /
caturaṅgulasūcyā vā yo likhet pustakaṃ śubhe //
tattadakṣarasaṃkhye tu svalpāyuryāti vai dine /

158. *Hindu Theatre*, I. p. 93.

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through the wind, passing through the different whorls, produces a loud, sharp, shrill, piercing sound which spreads far and wide, and by its nature quickly attracts attention. Hence the conch was held in great esteem as a war trumpet. In the present day, it is used as a trumpet in the temples to mark the close of a religious ceremony called *ārati*, in course of which lights, napkins, and other articles are turned repeatedly in front of an image, and also at *quasi* religious ceremonies, which the fair sex celebrate to mark particular domestic occurrences. The second species produces the most elongated shells, and they are used for offering water to the gods during the *ārati* aforesaid, for bathing the images of Viṣṇu, and for lustrations generally. For this purpose no perforation at the base is needed, but the whorls within have to be cut out clean. Occasionally, but very rarely, the whorls are so cut as to represent five consecutive shells, one within the other, and these are described to be so many separate shells coalesced into one, or five separate mouths, *pañcamukha*, of one shell. It is held to be particularly sacred. I have seen only one specimen of this kind ; but it had only three interior shells. It is generally as high-priced as the abnormal variety called *dakṣiṇāvarta*, "in which the whorls, instead of running from right to left, as in the ordinary shell, are reversed, and run from left to right". "It is", says Sir Emerson Tennent, "regarded with such reverence that a specimen formerly sold for its weight in gold, but one may now be had for four or five pounds". This high price is due to the virtues ascribed to it in the Purāṇas. One of them, the *Varāha*, says, "He who, going to a river flowing towards the east, performs an *abhiṣeka* ceremony on himself with a right-handed *śaṅkha*, purges himself from all sin. He who, in such a river standing up to his navel in water, pours sesamum seed and water profusely on his head from a right-handed *śaṅkha*, instantly destroys all the sins of his life".[159] Of the virtues of *śaṅkhas* generally, the *Padma Purāṇa* gives a detailed account. According to it, "He who bathes Viṣṇu with the milk of a gold-coloured cow (*Kailā*) filled in a *śaṅkha*, acquires more merit than can be attained by performing a hundred million *Yajñas*. He who bathes the Great Lord with the milk of other than golden coloured cows, obtains the rank of Brahmā. Pouring Ganges water in a *śaṅkha*, he, who bathes Mādhava, saying at the same time 'salutation to Nārāyaṇa', avoids the evil of all future transmigration. What is the use of bathing in the Ganges for him, who, turning a *śaṅkha* filled with water before Keśava, pours the water on his own head ? He, who offers to Vaiṣṇavas, in a *śaṅkha*, water mixed with sesamum and *tulasī* leaves with which the feet of Hari have been washed, acquires the merit of performing a *cāndrāyaṇa* ceremony."[160] The *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* says, "Water in a *śaṅkha* is most gratifying to the [115] gods, and is as holy as the waters of sacred pools, except to Śambhu. The goddess of fortune remains fixed in those places where the music of the *śaṅkha* resounds. He is bathed in the waters of all the sacred pools, who bathes in water from a *śaṅkha*. Hari abides in the *śaṅkha* ; wherever there is a *śaṅkha* there is Hari. There also abides Lakṣmī, and

159. *Ancient Egyptians*, II. 365.

160. dakṣiṇāvarta *et seq* tatkṣaṇādeva naśyati // *Padma Purāṇa*

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evil of every kind flies away from it". [161] The fabricators of bracelets make no distinction of these three varieties and use them promiscuously for their work. In the *Detailed List of Articles contributed by Bengal to the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873* (p. 89), Mr. Locke, of the Calcutta School of Art, has the following interesting note on the subject: "The Śāṅkhāris, or shell workers at Dacca, distinguish the several shells and their various qualities by the names *Titkuri*, *Pati*, *Lālpati*, *Alabela*, *Dhala*, *Kulai*, and *Śurti*; the *Titkuri* (that is, those imported from Tuticorin) 'being the best in quality of grain, lustre, and suitability for fine cutting and delicate finish. There is considerable variety in the patterns of these *śaṅkha* bracelets, from the rude broad flat ring to the thin delicate annulet, rounded, or with notched or beaded edges, carved with tigers' heads, enriched with ornamental incising, and illuminated by touches of tinsel, lac-colour, gilding, &c". It should be noticed, however, that those bracelets which are made of entire pieces or annulets cut out of the shell, require the last named species, which from its size yields rings just large enough for the human wrist. The first two varieties are too large for such annulets, and their chips and cuttings are therefore used only in inlaying. Their superior density and gloss adapt them well for this purpose. It should be borne in mind, also, that the different species vary greatly in size according to age, and it is often difficult to identify them in the dry state.

Boats: That in the time of the Vedas, and for some time afterwards, the Hindus were familiar with ships adapted for sea voyages, is a fact which is now no longer doubted. The frequent mention, in ancient Sanskrit literature, of pearls, which could not have been procured without the aid of boats that could brave the ocean-wave, is of itself sufficient evidence on the subject. But others are not wanting. Allusions to the ocean and to ships are numerous even in the *Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*. "The greatness of the Agastyas", is said to be, "as profound as the depth of the ocean". [162] "He, Varuṇa, who knows the path of the birds flying through the air, he, abiding in the ocean, knows also the course of ships". [163] "May Uṣas, dawn to-day, the excitress of chariots which are harnessed at her coming, as those who are desirous of wealth (send ships) to sea". [164] "Do thou (Agni), whose countenance is turned to all sides, send off our adversaries, as if in a ship to the opposite shore". (A remarkable prayer for transportation at so early an age). "Do thou convey us in a ship across the sea for our welfare". [165] Again, "Tugra, verily, Aśvins, sent (his son) Bhujyu to see, as a dying man parts with his riches; but you brought him back in vessels of your own, floating over the ocean, and keeping out the waters. Three nights and three days, Nāsatyas, have you conveyed Bhujyu in three rapid, revolving cars, having a hundred wheels, and drawn by six horses, along the dry bed of the ocean to the shore of the sea. This exploit you achieved, Aśvins, in the ocean, where there is nothing to give support, nothing to rest upon, nothing to cling to, that you brought Bhujyu, sailing in

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161. śṛṇu śaṅkhasya *et seq* tasmāt śaṅkhaṃ sadārcayet /
162. praśastaṃ *et seq* lakṣmīrdūrībhūtamamaṅgalam //
163. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*. IV. 89. 164. *Ibid*. I. 65. 165. *Ibid*. I. 128.

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a hundred-oared ship, to his father's house".[166] This story of Bhujyu is repeated in a subsequent hymn where the "tossing ocean and swift ships" are again alluded to. [167] Again, "you constructed a pleasant, substantial, winged bark, borne on the ocean waters for the son of Tugra, by which, with mind devoted to the gods, you bore him up, and quickly descending (from the sky), you made a path for him across the great waters. Four ships, launched into the midst of the receptacle (of the waters, sent by the Aśvins) brought safe to shore the son of Tugra, who had been cast headlong into the waters (by his foes), and plunged in inextricable darkness". [168] Agni is [116] prayed in one place "to bestow a boat fitted with oars", The great sage Vaśiṣṭha declares, "When (I, Vaśiṣṭha) and Varuṇa ascend the ship together, when we send it forth into the midst of the ocean, when we proceed over the waters with swift (sailing vessels), then may we both undulate happily in the prosperous swing. So Varuṇa placed Vaśiṣṭha in the ship, and by his mighty protection made the Ṛṣi a doer of good works. [169] The Kapiñjala bird is said "to foretell what will come to pass, by giving due direction to its voice, as a helmsman guides a boat". In the *Introduction* to the third volume of his translation of the *Ṛgveda*, Professor Wilson says, "The same familiarity with the sea that has been previously commented on occasionally occurs, with sufficient explicitness to leave no doubt of the meaning of the text :thus in one place the rivers are said, 'to rush to the ocean eager to mix with it' (p. 59); and again, 'the rivers disappear in the ocean' (p. 221), where also it is said that 'those desirous of profit are engaged in traversing the ocean', clearly indicating, maritime traffic : the Maruts, or personified winds, are said 'to toss the clouds like ship', or as the Scholiast amplifies a rather elliptical phrase, as the ocean tosses ships ; in another place (p. 425), although the particular expressions may be equivocal, yet it is undeniable that the passage is intended to convey the idea of the crossing of the ocean by certain individuals under the guidance of Indra."[170] Manu lays down rules for the guidance of maritime commerce, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* alludes to merchants, who traffic beyond the sea and bring presents to the king (III. 237). In the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of a large boat provided with machinery, which could defy the hurricane ; but it was intended for moving only on a river. Kālidāsa, in the *Śakuntalā*, gives the story of the merchant Dhanavṛddhi, whose immense wealth devolved to the king on the former's perishing at sea, and leaving no heirs behind him ; and in the *Hitopadeśa*, a ship is described as a necessary requisite for a man to traverse the ocean, and a story is given of a certain merchant, "who, after having been twelve years on his voyage, at last returned home with a cargo of precious stones". The details of Vijaya Siṃha's piratical expedition to Ceylon are familiar to the readers of the History of that island. Arrian alludes to the *Kolandiphontas*, (apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kolāntarapota*, "ships for going to foreign shores",) or "large ships on the coast of Travancour, in which the natives traded to Bengal and Malacca", in contradistinction to the *Monoxyla* of Pliny, which was probably the same with the *Saṃgara*, and made of one piece of timber, for coasting and river trade. [171] Other notices of the sea and ships

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166. *Ibid.* I. 254. 167. *Ibid.* I. 306. 168. *Ibid.* I. 317
169. *Ibid.* II. 182. 170. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. 178. 171. *Ibid.* III. p. 16.

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may be multiplied *ad libitum*, to shew that the ancient Hindus were accustomed to venture out on the "black waters" in search of wealth. No proof of this, however, is to be had in sculpture. At Sāñcī only two boats have been seen,[172] one "a rude canoe made up of rough planks rudely sewn together by hemp or string" ; and the other, "a stately barge with a long arching prow carved to represent the head and fore paws (winged) of a lion with the beak of a hawk, and the stern shaped like the tail of a fish curved upwards". Such fanciful prows, it would seem, were common enough in former times, for the *Yuktikalpataru* names the heads of lions, buffaloes, serpents, elephants, tigers, birds, frogs and men, as the most appropriate for figure-heads of boats.[173] "Boats not unlike the Sāñcī specimen in design", says Mr. Fergusson "may still be seen opposite the *ghāṭs* at Benares on festal occasions, or on the lakes at Oudypore, or whenever a Hindu palace has a lake attached to it".[174] Both the Sāñcī boats, however, appear amidst lotuses, which in this country never grow in the running water of rivers, and are obviuosly not intended for the ocean. At Amarāvatī too there are no ships, and at Bhuvaneśvara, no marine or boat scene has come to notice. Considering that the place is situated so near the sea, the total absence of such scenes argues that, at the time, the Hindus had all but entirely retired from the sea. At Puri, the Bhoga Maṇḍapa of the Great Temple represents a boat, but it is evidently intended for a river. (Woodcut No. 52).

Food and Drink : Nothing also has been met with in sculpture regarding the nature of the food which the people of Orissa ordinarily used twelve hundred years ago. The principal article was no doubt, as now, rice, but it is not shown in any form on the temple. Fish, meat and vegetables are also unrepresented, but sweetmeats, cakes and other articles of luxury are occasionally delineated, and these indicate a state of considerable social refinement. Reference has already been made (p. [111]) to the figure of Gaṇeśa in the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara holding a bowl in which are shown a number of globular lumps, each made up of a collection of small round grains exactly representing the sweetmeat now generally known by the name of *moticur*, or "broken pearl". It is made of a paste of gram fried in *ghi*, and subsequently steeped in syrup. In the temple of Bhagavatī and that of Mukteśvara, there are several figures in bas-relief, with cakes of different kinds in their hands, but their nature cannot be clearly ascertained.

[117] As already stated (*ante* p. [110]), drinking vessels are common at Bhuvaneśvara, but they are never shaped like animals' heads as in Assyria and Etruria. Of the nature of the beverages which they contained, nothing can be said. The religion of Śiva, and that of his consort, recognise the use of spirituous liquors as an element of devotion, and it is to be supposed that the people who followed those forms of religion did avail themselves of the license to a considerable extent. Six hundred years before the time, we find that drinking wine and spirits was almost as common among the Indians as it is now

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172. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.* I. p. 23.

173. *Tree and Serpent Worphip*, plate XXXI.

174. MS. No. 445, in the Library of Rājā Jotindramohan Tagore of Calcutta, Fol. 71 A.

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in Europe. In the *Śakuntalā*, when the fisherman, who brought the lost ring to the king, proposed to give to the policemen half of the money he had received as a present from Duṣyanta, the Superintendent, joyously accepting the offer, remarked : "Thou good fisherman, you are an excellent fellow, and I begin to feel quite a regard for you. Let us seal our first friendship over a glass of good liquor. Come along to the next wine shop, we will drink your health" ; [175] and the whole party agreed to the proposal to make the fisherman stand a treat, saying "by all means". Nothing short of free and undisguised use of spirit by the ordinary people of the country could have justified the poet in introducing such a scene. That the practice was not confined to the lower orders of the people, is evident from the fact of the Superintendent having been a relation of the king. It is also manifest from the Sāñcī bas-reliefs, among which more than one lady of high rank may be seen standing in a balcony on the roadside with a drinking cup in her hand, and a maid with a decanter by her side ready to replenish it. In the garden scene, two of the lovers have tazzas in their hands with an urn before them, clearly indicating indulgence in something more potent than water or *śerbat*. Commenting on this scene, Mr. Fergusson justly observes, "We ought not to be surprised that drinking should be a favourite indulgence in these days. The *Mahābhārata* is full of drinking scenes, and many of its episodes turn on the results of intoxication. Even the gods in those days got drunk on *soma* juice ; why not poor mortals ? In addition to this we must bear in mind that though the Hindus of the plains are so remarkable for their temperance, all the hill tribes drink joyously to the present day. No ceremony, civil or religious, takes place without drinking and dancing, and the festival generally is brought to a close by all—the men, at least—being so drunk as to be unable to continue it". [176] No doubt the Śāstras condemn indulgence in wine, especially by women, as sinful ; but neither the anathema of the moralist, nor the ordinance of the lawgiver, seems to have put a stop to the manufacture of spirituous liquors in the country, or to the importation of valuable foreign wines such as are mentioned in Arrian's *Periplus*, which were evidently destined for the use of men of wealth and consequence. [177]

Arms : It is usual among European authors to treat the history of arms under four different heads : 1st, the age of stone ; 2nd, the age of bronze ; 3rd, the age of iron ; and 4th, the middle ages. An earlier age would be that of wood, for of all artificial arms, a club, or stick, would suggest itself sooner to a primitive race than a celt of chipped flint ; and certain it is that among the many barbarous races still extant in different parts of the globe, the wooden spear and the bow and arrows appear much more universal than celts and stone hatchets. Wood, however, is not lasting, and the earliest relics available being made of stone, the fourfold division is the most convenient for the arrangement of ancient arms in museums and public collections, and to a certain limited extent for the treatment of the subject in historical disquisitions, using the words "age of stone", or "age of bronze" &c., in the same way as geologists use the phrases, the age of reptiles, the age of mammals, &c., implying a prevalence of particular class of objects

175. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 127. 176. William's Translation, p. 154.
177. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 139.

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over, and not the total exclusion of, others. In India, the same arrangement would no doubt be desirable. The number of stone weapons, chiefly celts, knives, and arrow-heads collected in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, fully testifies to the extensive use of such arms by the inhabitants in a historic age, and ancient Sanskrit literature also bears evidence to the fact. The monkeys of Rāma are said to have thrown stone implements against their enemies, and the thunderbolt of Indra (*Vajra, Aśani*) was a lithic missile ; but hitherto not a single authentic speciemen of any Aryan stone weapon has been met with in this country, and bronze arms seem to be all but unknown. From the time of the *Ṛgveda* to the present day, wood and iron have been the chief, if not the only, materials employed in the fabrication of offensive weapons ; and as both those articles have been used promiscuously at all times, it is impossible to divide the subject into an age of wood and another of iron. The classification adopted in the *Agni Purāṇa* is threefold, viz.. missiles cast by machines, *Yantramukta* ; 2nd, *ditto* hurled with the hand, *Pāṇimukta* ; 3rd, non-missiles, as swords, axes, &c., *Amukta* ; the last including two subsidiary classes. In Wilson's *Essay* "On the Art of War as known to the Hindus",[178] the subsidiary classes are reckoned among the primaries. These include, 1st, weapons which may be used either as non-missiles, or as missiles, *Muktāmukta*, such as javelins, spears, clubs, &c., 2nd, "Natural weapons, as the fist".

[**118**] **Bow** : Of the first class the oldest, the most important, and the most generally adopted national weapon of the Hindus from prehistoric times to the end of the middle ages, was the bow, and heroism in this country was invariably associated with superior proficiency in the use of that arm. No one rose to distinction as a warrior, who did not wield a heavy bow, and *dhanurdhara*, or "the master of the bow" was the highest term of compliment that could be addressed to him. By a figure of speech, the same term is even to this day applied also to men who have achieved success in other walks of life. The *Agni Purāṇa* praises its use by the remark that, "of all battles, that in which bows are used is the best of all ; that in which men fight with barbed instruments is tolerable. Fighting with swords is low and mean, and without arms, with bare hands, the meanest". "Hence perhaps", says Professor Wilson, "one of the elements of Indian inferiority in the field, as the arrow, however formidable as a missile, was but a feeble instrument in close combat, and its use was calculated to impair the courage of the combatant, by habituating him to shun rather than to seek the contiguity of the foeman".[179] So great was the importance attached to the bow in ancient times, that the code of rules regarding archery was ennobled as a subsidiary Veda, *Dhanur* Veda. These rules are no longer available ; but enough remains in Sanskrit literature to show the estimation in which the arm in question was held. Certain it is that it led to the word *dhanus* being used as synonymous with arms in general. So also words *dhanuṣka* and *dhanvin*, signifying literally a bowman, were

178. *Vide passim Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India*, in the *Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XL. p. 1, *et seq.*

179. *Works*, Vol. IV. p. 299.

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always used to denote a warrior or soldier. In the *Ṛgveda,* the employment of the bow in war is frequently mentioned, and the manner in which it is extolled may be perceived from the following prayer of Payu from the fifth *Aṣṭaka* : "May we conquer the cattle (of the enemies) with the bow ; with the bow may we be victorious in battle : may we overcome our fierce exulting (enemies) with the bow : may the bow disappoint the hope of the foe : may we subdue with the bow all (hostile) countries. This bowstring, drawn tight upon the bow, and making way in battle, repeatedly approaches the ear (of the warrior), as if embracing its friend (the arrow) and proposing to say something agreeable, as a woman whispers (to her husband). May the two extremities of the bow, acting consentaneously, like a wife sympathising (with her husband), uphold (the warrior), as a mother nurses her child upon her lap ; and may they, moving concurrently, and harassing the foe, scatter his enemies".[180] The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* extol it even more highly, and the story of the great bow of Śiva, which Rāma snapped asunder and won a noble bride, shows that large heavy bows were held in estimation. Proficiency in archery was also greatly prized, and the Pāṇḍu brothers obtained a princess as the reward of successfully shooting at a mark while looking at its shadow in water.

Materials of Bows : Of the material of which the bow was made, little is said in ancient works, except that horn was sometimes used for the purpose. But the *Agni Purāṇa,* which in its chapters on archery and arms, and on regal administration, is, according to Wilson, distinguished by an entirely Hindu character, and must have been written long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion,[181] supplies the deficiency. In its chapter on arms it gives the following : "Bows, O best of the twice-born, are formed of the three things, to wit, metal, horn and wood ; and the string of the bow is likewise made of three substances, viz., *śaṇa* fibre (*Crotalarea juncea*), hemp (*Bhāṅgā, Cannabis sativa*), and skin or hide. The most appropriate length for a bow is four cubits, three and a half cubits being middling, and three cubits inferior : it is to be so prepared that there may exist no unevenness from its centre to the extremities ; the middle part should be joined with a spare piece of wood, so that it may be firmly held. The ends of the bow are to be made thin and tapering, so as to resemble the eye-brows of a handsome woman. Metal and horn bows should be made either of pure iron, or horn separately, or of those two substances conjointly. The horny bow is to be formed of a good shape and decorated with gold. Bows which are crooked, or have cracks or holes in them, are not good. The metallic bow is to be made of gold, silver, copper and black iron. The horny bows made of the horns of the buffaloe, the Śarabha and the Rohisa are good. Bows are also made of sandal wood, ratan, the *sāl* wood, the Dhavana, (a kind of *Hedysarum*) and the Kakubha (*Pentapterā arjuna*). But the bow made of bamboos which grow in the Śarat or clear season of autumn, and which are cut and taken at that time, is the best of all. Bows and scimitars are to be worshipped by repeating *mantras* capable of fascinating the three regions Svarga, Martya and Pātāla". The most remarkable fact in the above extract is that the elastic bomboo is most extolled. The black iron was probably steel, and the

180. *Works,* IV. p. 291.

181. Wilson's *Ṛgveda,* IV. p. 23.

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other metals were used as ornaments ; they are too inelastic to form a bow themselves. The horny bow was greatly esteemed, and Viṣṇu claims it as especially his own. Homer refers to the horny bow in the 110th verse of the 4th book of the Iliad, and Arnold thus explains it : *Kai ta men—tékton.* The horn worker wrought (*a'skisas*) the horns, and fitted (*i'rare, aro, apto,* D. 84.) the two lower ends of them to each other, so that they now made one bow".[182] [119] The size approved, four cubits, is nearly the same as that of the Egyptian bow, which, according to Wilkinson, measured from five to five feet and a half in length ;[183] and among the materials for bow strings we have mention of hide, which was likewise used for that purpose by the Egyptians, as well as the Greeks of the time of Homer.[184] The *Agni Purāṇa* does not mention the *Murva,* (*Sanseviera zeylanica*), as a fit plant for yielding the finest and strongest fibres for bowstrings ; but other authorities, mostly older ones, are full of praise of that plant as a source of valuable fibre for the purpose, and Manu especially assigns it as well suited for girdles for warriors. From specimens to be seen in sculptures, the ancient bow seems to have been of the same shape as the modern Indian arm, made either of bomboo or horn (*sāraṅga*), and provided with a strip of deer skin, or a *murva* cord for string. At Bhuvaneśvara, a specimen (Illustration No. 203), has the body of the bow strengthened by knots tied at short intervals ; but at Sāñcī and Amarāvatī nothing of the kind has been seen. Some Indian bows have an inward bulge in the middle, so that their shape includes segments of three circles,—the "triple bent" bows of the *Rāmāyaṇa* ; their counterparts were not unknown in Egypt. In ancient Greece, the tips of the bow, according to Homer, used to be mounted with stag horn, but the sculptures in this country do not make them apparent. The manner of carrying the bow was ordinarily to sling it from the left shoulder, or to bear it aloft in the left hand. In stringing the bow, one end of it was placed on the ground, the inner side of the middle resting against the knee, and the upper part pressed inwards with the left hand, while with the right hand the loop of the string was slid to the notch at the upper end. This is exactly the process which the Egyptians followed in former times, and the Hindus still practise to this day.

Ancient arrows : Of the most ancient arrow, the *Ṛgveda* gives the following description : "The arrow puts on a feathery wing : the horn of the deer is its point : it is bound with the sinews of the cow".[185] The commentator in one place supposes that the points of such arrows were poisoned,[186] and in another place the Veda itself describes the arrow as made of the *śara* reed with its blade of iron and point anointed with poison.[187] The deer-horn point was undoubtedly the most ancient form ; and must have prevailed for some time ; but, seeing that the arms and armour of Greece in the time of Homer (B. C. 1000) were for the most part of bronze, though iron was known and is often spoken of under the name "difficult to work in," it may be fairly asked,—did the

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182. Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Hall's ed. Preface, p. xli.
183. Arnold's *Homer's Iliad,* p. 112. 184. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians,* I. p. 304.
185. *neura Boeia* Homer, II. p. 113. 186. Wilson's *Ṛgveda.* IV. 26.
187. "You (Aśvins) carried off Jāhuṣa to the top of the mountain in your triumphant chariot, and slew the son of Viśvāñch with a poisoned (arrow)". Wilson's *Ṛgveda.* I. 317.

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Aryans, to any large extent, employ iron for the fabrication of their arms during the early Vedic period of the *Ṛk Saṃhitā*, notwithstanding occasional mention in it of the iron-pointed arrow? To meet this question, it is necessary to enquire to what extent that metal was known and worked.

Knowledge of iron: The quotations given in the first chapter about iron-walled cities, clearly show that the hardness of iron was well known, but the epithet being in those cases metaphorically used, they do not suffice to prove that the metal was worked into shape. In the passages in which Indra is described as hurling his iron bolt upon the quick-moving Asuras,[188] or where his horse is described as having feet of iron, the same exception may be easily taken, though the last description may be accepted as an indication of the pratice of shoeing horses. But swords (II. 156), spears (IV. 25), javelins (II. 292), lances (I. 74), (IV. ii. 288), and hatchets (I. 120), are frequently mentioned, and these weapons are "bright as gold," or golden (IV. 19) "shining bright" (I. 175) "blazing" (IV. 93), "sharp" (IV. 113), and "made of iron" (I. 226); they are "whetted on a grindstone" (II. 36) to improve their keenness (I. 150), and "polished to enhance their brightness" (II. 326). There are also allusions to razors, which would be utterly worthless unless made of iron; and it may be very fairly presumed that those who could and did forge razors of iron, could not forget the value of that metal as a material for pointed or edged weapons. It may be added that, according to Shaw, "the hardest tools in ancient Egypt, such as drills for working the granite obelisks, were made of Indian iron." Pliny says: "Ex omnibus generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt. Secunda Parthico, neque alia genera ferri ex mera acie temperantur, caeteris enim admiscetur". (*Lib.* XXXIX. C. 14) According to al Edrissi, "in montibus Kabel inveniuntur ferri fodinae celeberrimae, et humanis usibus aptissimae, producunt enim ferrum acutum et venustum." According to Nearchus, King Porus gave 30 lbs. of steel to Alexander as the most precious present he could offer; and to "give an Indian answer," meaning "a cut with an Indian sword," is a common Arabic proverb in Arabshah, (p. 364 *apud* Vincent's *Periplus*). It would be inconsistent to suppose that the race which produced such iron and swords did not know how to use, or knowing, did not use them.

[120] **Shape, size and material of arrows**: Of the shape of the Indian arrow-heads, the Vedas afford no information, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* fully supply the deficiency. According to those authorities most of them were barbed; some were spear-shaped, others crescent-shaped with the cutting edge either concave or convex; some needle-pointed, dentiform, or serrated, others square with two, three or more points. In sculptures, some of these forms are distinctly visible. Of the size and make of arrows, the *Agni Purāṇa* gives the following description: "Arrows should be made of bamboos or *śara* reed, (*Saccharum sara*), which must be free from spots, &c. They should be straight, golden coloured, and have feathers of birds attached to their lower extremities". The Homeric arrows were likewise feathered, *pteroenta*, "and the feathers of large birds of prey

188. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. 27.

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were esteemed the best". "Besides the arrows commonly used, the *Dhanurveda* describes two other kinds, the *Nārāca* entirely of iron, and the *Nālika* made of reed. The latter was intended for a long flight, and is, therefore, said to be most appropriately used for sieges. Curtius perhaps alludes to the *Nārāca* when he says, some of the archers shot with arrows which were too heavy to be very manageable". [189]

Quiver : Ordinarily the quiver was probably made of hide or basket-work ; but sometimes metal plates were also used in its fabrication. The *Ṛgveda* often names quivers of gold, but it is not certain whether they were actually made of that metal, or were so called only by a poetical licence. They were slung on the back (Illustration No. 93) ; sometimes two behind the two shoulders, tied in front by a cross belt. At Bhuvaneśvara quivers are pretty common, but being placed behind figures in bas-relief, their size, form, and make cannot be fully ascertained.

Drawing of bows : The manner of drawing the bow up to the ear, as in modern Europe, while standing with the body turned sideways, is pointed out in the extract from the *Ṛgveda* given above ; and is confirmed by several passages in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other ancient works in which the merit of aiming with the arrow drawn in a line with the eye to the ear (*ākarṇasandhāna*) is highly extolled. In the Sāñcī sculptures, the same style is distinctly visible, and that this was the most perfect mode of using the bow, is evident from its adoption by some of the most civilized nations of antiquity, such as the Egyptians. The ancient Greeks, however, thought and acted differently. According to Homer, the bow should be held right in front, and the string drawn to the body, *neurin men macho pélasen* (D. 123), and hence it is that "the Amazonian women are reported to have cut off their right breast, lest it should be an impediment to its use". [190] In later times the Greeks adopted the Egyptian style, but never acquired much proficiency in it. Homer condemns it by the remark :—(*Il. O.* 711-12.)

Oeésí du pelékessi kai' aeinesi mákhonto
Kai Eiphesin megáloisi kai é'gkhesin hamphiguoisin

Layard's plates show that the ancient Assyrians also followed the Greek custom and drew their bow-strings towards the breast, and not towards the right ear, though for the purpose of a good aim the latter would be the most convenient place. In the *Iliad* the epithet *Kukloteres héteinen* indicates that the bow was so drawn as to reduce it to a circular shape, but nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Hindu Śāstra. The *ligeé -hiakhen* or click and twang of the Homeric bow-string have their counterparts in the *dhanuṣṭaṅkāra* of the Hindus.

Gauntlet : To protect the left forearm from the abrasion of the bow-string, it was wrapped in folds of leather, [191] but the sculptures do not anywhere show a trace of this gauntlet. The Egyptians used a slip of leather for the same purpose, but instead of folding it round the forearm, wore it only on the inner side, tied at the wrist and the elbow.[192]

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189. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, I. 328, III. 23.
190. Wilson's *Works*, IV. 299.
191. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptian*, I. 308.
192. "The ward of the forearm, protecting it from the abrasion of the bowstring,

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Attitude in drawing the bow : Of the different attitudes which were assumed in using the bow, the *Agni Purāṇa* gives the following description : "The *Sampadasaṃsthāna* attitude in shooting, is the standing with the feet even, the two great toes, ankles, and heels being closely opposite each other ; and the position of standing with the feet three spans apart. Laying the centre of gravity on the toes, and keeping the knees unbent, is the *vaiśākha* posture. The attitude in which both the knees appear like a flock of geese, and in which the archer stands with the feet four spans asunder, is called *maṇḍala* ; and the *abdha* posture is said to be that, in which the right thigh and knee are kept unbent, and in which the feet are placed five spans apart, assuming the shape of a plough. The contrary of the above is called the [121] *pratyabdha* attitude. The *jala* attitude is that in which the left leg should be kept in a crooked position, the left heel at a distance of five fingers from the ankle of the right foot, and the knees twelve fingers apart from each other. The *daṇḍāyata* posture is of this description ; the left knee straight, and the right advanced or as little bent, and firmly fixed ; but when this attitude is such that the knees are two cubits distant from each other, it is called *vikaṭa*. The *sampaṭa* attitude is said to be the bending the knee double, and keeping the feet raised from the ground (except the forepart), or standing with the legs straight as stick, and the feet sixteen fingers apart from each other". [193]

Pellet-bow and sling : In the *Rāmāyaṇa* mention is made of the bow as an instrument for casting pellets of stone ; but its use was most probably limited to shooting birds, for it is now here named in connexion with warfare. The sling too was well known, and Bharata, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is described as highly proficient in its use. Wilkinson says : "The Acarnanians were proud of their skill in managing it, and were surpassed by the Achaeans alone, of all the Greeks, who even vied with the natives of the Balearic Islands ; and so expert were these last, and of such importance did they consider the sling, that the principal care of a parent was to instruct a boy in its use". [194] Homer admits the sling (*sphendoni*) as an instrument of war, and the "plaited wool", of which it was made, serves in one place as a bandage for tying a wound. The Hindus, however, never gave it any prominence, and deservedly treated it with contempt. Neither the pellet-bow nor the sling occurs in sculpture.

Fire-arms, Catapults, &c. : From the frequent mention of the *Agni Astra* or "fire-arms", it is to be inferred that the Hindus had some instruments for hurling shells or balls of burning matter against their enemies ; but no description of any such has yet been met with. There are two scenes of sieges among the Sāñcī bas-reliefs, but no traces in them of battering rams, or catapults of any kind for breaking down walls, or for hurling stones amidst the ranks of the enemy, or of engines for casting burning matter to a distance to set fire to besieged towns and fortresses, are visible. There are several

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surrounds the arm like a snake with its convolutions". Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. 26.

193. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, I. 306.

194. Wilson's MS. Translation. I have not been able to find the original of this in my MSS. of the text. The description in some places is not very clear.

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martial processions and battle scenes at Bhuvaneśvara; but they too are devoid of any evidence on the subject. In the *Udyoga Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhiṣṭhira is described as collecting large quantities of rosin, tow, and other inflammable articles for his great fratricidal war; but nothing is there said of any engine with which they could be hurled against his enemies. The only instruments named, which could be assumed to have belonged to this class, are the *Mahāyantra* or "the great engine", and the *Śataghni* or "centicide", a mitrailleuse which could kill a hundred at a time; but what they were like, and how they worked, is not known.

In connexion with fire-arms, it is usual to advert to gunpowder, but as I have no new evidence to adduce on the subject, I must refer the curious reader to Wilson's *Essay* "On the Art of War as known to the Hindus", Sir H. Elliot's "Note on the early use of gunpowder in India", in his *Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, and Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 641, *et seq.*

Javelins and Discuses: Of the arms of the second class, viz., missiles to be hurled with the hand, the only two worthy of notice are javelin and the discus. The former, under the name of *śela*, is frequently mentioned, and warriors mounted on horses or elephants used it largely, but it passes so insensibly to the spear or the thrusting weapon, that I have not been able to ascertain its exact form, and am doubtful if any distinction was ever made between them. I shall, therefore, notice the various kinds of spears and javelins seen in sculpture under one head. The discus, or quoit, is an old Indian favourite, of which mention is made even in the oldest Vedas. [195] Unlike the Sikh weapon of the present day, which is a simple ring with a sharp cutting edge, it had cross bars in the middle, and sometimes flame-like or pointed projections round the periphery. Its ancient name is *cakra* or "the wheel"; but one of the commentators on *Amara* identified it with the *prāśa*. It occurs both in sculpture, and also formed of iron, and mounted on spires of Vaiṣṇavite temples as a sectarial mark, like the cross of the Christian churches. Formerly certain classes of Vaiṣṇavas used to have a figure of it branded on the arms or breasts; the Śivites replaced it by the trident.

Spears, lances &c.: Under the head of *muktāmukta* or optional missiles, come the various forms of spears and lances. They were highly important weapons, and Sanskrit writers are full of their praise. They were made of bamboo, pointed with blades of steel, iron or copper, and balanced with an iron knob or spike at the lower end. The light ones like that shown in Illustration No. 204, from the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, were probably used as javelins, while the heavy ones were reserved for thrusting. Occasionally they were made entirely of iron, when they were known [122] by the name of *tomara*. In some instances they had a small pennon below the blade. Illustration No. 177 shows a copper blade now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society; and Illustration No. 198, from Sāñcī, shows a pennon. These weapons are, however, not well represented in sculptures, except as tridents, of which there is a great number and of different forms. (Illustrations Nos. 193, 195 and 196). One of a short mace-like form, mounted with three

195. *Ancient Egyptians*, I. p. 317.

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prongs and a small axe blade, is peculiar, and a drawing of it is given in Illustration No. 190. It may be compared to a European halberd, except in its shaft which is not near as long.

Clubs : Of arms of the non-missile class sticks, clubs and maces were the most ancient. Though they could be hurled at an enemy when hard pressed, they were ordinarily not intended for such a purpose. Illustrations Nos. 201, 206, 207 and 208, all taken from the Great Tower of Bhuvaneśvara, are the principal varieties of this class of weapon. Illustration No. 202, shows a large mace or club five feet high, tied with ornamental metal bands. Its body is ribbed, and the ends are mounted with thick knobs. It has been taken from the hand of a guard at the entrance to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa at Puri.

Battle-axe : The battle-axe was in India, as much as in ancient Europe, a dreadful weapon of destruction, and various forms of it may be seen at Sāñcī, Amarāvatī and Bhuvaneśvara. Illustrations Nos. 188, 189, 191 and 192 represent some of the commonest kind, and a very elaborate one is shewn in Illustration No. 187, taken from the hand of a statue of Gaṇeśa in the Great Tower.

Swords : The most important weapon of this class, however, is the sword. Its oldest forms are shewn in Illustrations Nos. 175 and 176, taken from two copper weapons in the Asiatic Society's Museum. Their history is not known, but apparently they are the oldest Indian metal arms that have been preserved to our time. Both of them are double-edged, and ribbed in the middle, to lighten the weight and at the same time to give them sufficient strength : neither has a guard or quillon above the hilt : but the second has two quillons in the place of the pummel, and the first only one. The swords are thick and heavy, and must have been very inconvenient to use. The edges of both are in places jagged from having been repeatedly struck upon some hard substance. It is impossible to say if the old Vedic swords were of this shape ; but both at Sāñcī and Bhuvaneśvara forms very like it, but with somewhat better handles, are not uncommon. (Illustration No. 181). At the latter place, the ordinary Indian sabre, the *asi* of Sanskrit writers, whence probably the *acinaces* of the Romans, is common ; it was generally worn on the left side, and, not as among the Greeks and Romans, on the right side. Its blade is short and curved, but not quite so much as that of the scimitar. It is single-edged, except near the point, where it is sharp on both sides. Its handle is provided with quillons and pummel, rarely also with a guard. At Sāñcī there is a straight broad sword in a scabbard, very like a Scotch claymore ; and straight swords like the navy cutlass are also met with at Bhuvaneśvara (Illustrations Nos. 182 and 183). But the most important instrument of the sword class at the latter place is the *khaṇḍā*, a heavy, broad, single-edged sword with a turned-up point, something like a Chinese sabre-knife. It was the favourite weapon, the weapon of the goddess Durgā in her different manifestations. In the present day it is used for sacrificial purposes, being too heavy for warfare. It is always carried in the hand, never slung from the waist. A modification of it, called *dhūp*, was for some time the ordinary offensive arm of the Bengal *pāik*. The Mahrattas called their long, straight broadsword by the name of *Khaṇḍā*, and in Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* there is a drawing of the famous Khāṇḍārājā, or "King of Khāṇḍās", of the great

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patriot Sivājī ; its counterpart is frequently seen in Orissan sculptures (Illustrations, Nos. 179 and 180). In the temple of Gaurī at Bhuvaneśvara, there is a double-bladed straight sword ; but it was probably a fancy weapon, not of much actual use (Illustration No. 178).

The following extract from the *Vṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāha Mihira, (Chap .4) affords many curious traits of the superstitions which formerly prevailed, and to a certain extent still prevail, in India in regard to swords and their uses :—

1. "A sword of the longest description measures fifty digits ; the shortest is of twenty -five digits. A flaw on such a spot (of the sword) as corresponds with an odd number of digits, must be deemed ill-ominous.

2. Yet flaws resembling a *Bilva* fruit, *Vardhamāna* figure, umbrella, emblem of Śiva, earring, lotus, banner, weapon, or cross, are held auspicious.

3. Flaws shaped like a lizard, crow, heron, carrion bird, headless trunk or scorpion, and several flaws along the upper edge, are not lucky.

4. A sword that shows a chink, is too short, blunt, damaged at the upper edge, unpleasing to eye and mind, and without tone, is inauspicious. The reverse qualities forebode favourable results.

5. The rattling of a sword (of itself) is said to portend death ; its not going out of the sheath (when drawn) augurs defeat. There will be strife when the sword jumps out of the scabbard by itself, but victory when it is seen flaming.

6. The king ought not to unsheathe it without reason, nor rub it, nor look at his own face in it, nor tell its price. He should not mention the place whence it has come from, nor take its measure nor, without precaution, touch the blade.

7. The most esteemed swords are those that are fashioned like a cow's tongue, a lotus-petal, a bomboo leaf, and an oleander leaf, rapiers and scimitars.

8. If a wrought sword proves too long, it may not be shortend by striking off a portion of it, but should be polished till it has the length required. The owner dies, if a piece is struck off at the upper end ; and his mother dies, if the same is done at the point.

9. [123] From a flaw on the hilt you may infer the existence of corresponding flaw on the blade, just as you may conclude on seeing a mole in the face of a damsel, that there is another such in her hidden parts.

10. And by observing which part of the body is touched by a swordsman, when consulting the diviner, the latter will be able to indicate the place of the flaw on the sword in the scabbard, provided he (the diviner) knows the following rules.

11-15. If the man touches his head, the flaw is at the first digit ; the second digit corresponds with the forehead ; the third with the spot between the brows ; the fourth with the eyes ; the fifth with the nose ; the sixth with the lips ; the seventh with the cheeks ; the eighth with the jaws ; the ninth with the ears ; the tenth with the neck ; the eleventh with the shoulders ; the twelfth with the breast ; the thirteenth with the armpits ; the fourteenth with the paps ; the fifteenth with the heart ; the sixteenth with the belly ; the seventeenth with the loins ; the eighteenth with the navel ; the nineteenth with the abdomen ; the twentieth with the hip ; the twenty-first with the pudendum ; the twenty

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-second with the thighs ; the twenty-fourth with the knees ; the twenty-fifth with the legs ; the twenty-sixth with the part between the legs ; the twenty-seventh with the ankles ; the twenty-eighth with the heels ; the twenty-ninth with the feet ; the thirtieth with the toes ; such is the theory of Garga.

16-19. The consequences to be foretold from a flaw in the first, second, third digit, and so forth, up to the thirtieth digit, are as follows : death of a child, obtaining of wealth, loss of riches, good fortune, captivity, birth of a son, quarrels, acquiring of elephants, death of a child, acquiring of wealth, destruction, getting a wife, grief, gain, loss ; getting a wife, death, prosperity, death, contentment, loss of wealth, acquiring of riches, death without salvation, obtaining of wealth, death, good fortune, poverty, dominion, death, kingly power.

20. Upwards of the thirtieth digit no consequences are specified ; in general, however, the flaws at the odd digits are injurious, at the even ones auspicious. But according to some authorities, the flaws from the thirtieth digit upwards to the sword's point are of no consequence at all.

21. A sword that smells like oleander, blue lotus, elephant's frontal juice, *ghee*, saffron, jessamine, or *Michelea champaka*, brings good luck ; but ill-omened is one that has the odour of cow-urine, mud or fat.

22. A smell similar to that of tortoise blubber, blood, or potash, augurs danger and pain. A sword glittering like beryl, gold, and lightning, brings victory, health, and prosperity.

23. The fluid to imbrue a sword with, according to the precept of Uśanas is : blood, if one wishes for a splendid fortune ; *ghee*, if one is desirous to have a virtuous son ; water, if one is longing for inexhaustible wealth.

24. An approved mixture to imbrue the sword with, in case of one desirous to attain his object by wicked means, is : milk from a mare, a camel, and an elephant. A mixture of fish bile, deer-milk, horse-milk, goat-milk blended with toddy, will make the sword fit to cut an elephant's trunk.

25. A sword, first rubbed with oil, and then imbrued with an unguent compounded of the milky juice of the Calotropis, goat's horn, ink, dung from doves and mice, and afterwards whetted, is fit for piercing stones.

26. An iron instrument imbrued with a stale mixture of potash of plantains with butter-milk, and properly whetted, will not get worked on a stone, nor blunted on other iron instruments".[197]

Two thousand years ago the sheath was generally made of wood, covered as in the present day, with pink cloth of some value. Thus in the *Toy Cart* :

Servant." This is your honor's sword.

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196. "Endowed with augmented vigour he hurled (against the foes) the wheel of the chariot of the sun". III. 35. If the suggestions of Sāyaṇa be omitted, the wheel would be a discus.

197. Kern's Translation, *Journal* Rl. As. Soc. N. S., VI. pp. 81 *et seq.*

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Saṃsthānaka. Ah, very well, give it me. (*Takes it by the wrong end*). I bear it on my shoulder, sleeping in its pink sheath". [198]

A belt was usually tied round the waist to suspend the sword, and a sword-knot was not infrequently put on. Both these were known by the common name of *mekhalā*, which, in the case of women, was very appropriately employed to indicate the zone or girdle. The sword-knot was sometimes formed of a metallic chain fastened to the hilt, and in fighting bound round the wrist to secure the weapon—a procedure which must have proved very troublesome whenever the blade snapped in the midst of a fray.

Daggers, &c. : Of the short sword or dagger, the true war-knife and its varieties, the poniard, the stiletto, and the *kuṭhār*, the sculptures of Orissa and Sāñcī, afford a great number of examples. Illustration No. 186, from the Great Tower, is very like a Nepalese knife. No. 185 is a broad, blunt-ended knife with a carved deer-head handle ; and No. 184, is a knife of the same description, but with a lancet-headed point, taken from a male figure found under a banian tree near the Mārkaṇḍa Tank at Puri. Illustration No. 205 is from the temple of Gaurī. It is a triangular-bladed dagger or cut and thrust knife, which used to be held by the cross bar at the bottom. It belongs to the same class with the *kuṭhār* of the present day. Illustration No. 200, is also peculiar ; it is from Bhuvaneśvara. In Orissa this weapon seems to have been a great favourite, and on the Great Tower several nude statues in amatory positions are made to carry it in their waist bands. The *sphyu* or sacrificial knife of the Vedic times was a dagger ; but it was made entirely of wood.

Lasso : The lasso, *nāgapāśa*, "the noose of the Nāgas", or simply *pāśa* may also be described as an offensive weapon of the nonmissile class. It was largely used, and is frequently alluded to. Of its form and use we extract the following description from the *Agni Purāṇa*. The *pāśa* should be ten cubits long, with one end of which a circle should be made a cubit in diameter. It should be constructed of the strings made of hemp, or of flax, or of *muñja* grass or of *bhaṅga*, (*Crotalarea juncea*), or of *snāyu* (tendon or muscle of beasts, supposed to be what is understood by the word *tāñt* in common Bengali), of *arka* skin, (fibre of the *Calotropis gigantea* and other things of which strong thread may be made. The *pāśa* should be prepared of thirty pieces of thread twisted together. The learners should make a running knot in the *pāśa* ; and having held one end of it with the left hand, and twisted it round on the right, they should turn it over their heads, and afterwards throw it on the throat of a human figure, made of wicker work or reeds. They then [124] should do the same to a real man, after covering his body with skin. After this, they should try to throw the string on the neck of a horse at full gallop, or of animals jumping about, or such as are moving fast. This practice should be repeated many times, in order to be accustomed and well skilled in it. In this manner, being masters of their hands, they will begin to bind (their enemy) with the *pāśa*". This lasso is sometimes exhibited in sculpture. On the Rāṇi Neur frieze at Udayagiri, there are two or three nooses seen on the body of a crouching elephant in a cave, and one also in the hand of one of its assailants ready to throw it on the animal.

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198. Lit. of the colour of the flesh of barkless raddish. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, I. p. 37.

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Defensive arms, shields : Of defensive arms the first object which demands notice is the shield. In ancient India it was made of hide; hence its name *carma*, or leather *par excellence*. But hard wood was subsequently used for the purpose; and accordingly the *Yuktikalpataru* defines the *carma* as "an arm which covers or protects the body. It is of two kinds, according as it is made of wood or hide. It should protect the body, and be firm, light and tough. That which is insufficient to cover the body, or is heavy, soft, easily penetrable, or made of an offensive material is defective".[199] With the Egyptians and the Grecians the material was commonly bull's hide with the hairy side outwards, [200] and Homer gives seven folds of it to the shield of Ajax, and nine to that of Achilles; but the Hindus preferred the hide of the buffaloe and of the rhinoceros, and their superior toughness rendered folding unnecessary. At a subsequent period metal seems to have been likewise used in the fabrication of shields, and specimens have been met with both of iron and copper. Two of the latter metal are preserved in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, but their ages are unknown.

The shape of the instrument was ordinarily circular, as in the Illustrations Nos. 209 and 210, from the temples of Bhuvaneśvara; but it was not invariably so. Illustration No. 211 shows an oval shield; and oblong shields made of boards, or wicker work covered with leather, with sometimes an iron rim, very like the scutum of the Romans, were not unknown; and small bucklers of an oblong or irregular shape were common. The former occur repeatedly at Bhuvaneśvara, (Illustration No. 212 taken from a figure in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), and the latter at Sāñcī. (Illustrations Nos. 213 and 214, taken from General Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*). At Khaṇḍagiri there is a shield, the top and sides of which are rectilinear, and the lower part pointed. Judging from the extent of the body it covers, it was probably two and a half feet long, and had a prominent ridge in the middle. At Sāñcī, two instruments have been noticed of a similar shape, but without the ridge, the ground of the one being plain, and that of the other bearing a diagonal cross. (Illustrations No. 215 and 216 taken from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*). These were, however, never made so big as to entirely cover the soldier, as was the European pavise. Two specimens of this shield, made of wood and shaped very much like canoes with wooden handles,[201] exist in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Illustration No. 217). At Bhuvaneśvara some of the circular shields are padded inside, and held by two straps tied to four rings. (Illustration No. 210).

The ornaments on these shields were limited to a few metal bosses or stars, probably of brass, and rarely a tassel. But at Koṇārak, a specimen has been seen which is most elaborately ornamented. (Illustration No. 218). It is nearly two and a half feet in diameter, bound round the edge with a metal rim, and decorated with an outer band formed of circular plates of metal bearing impressions in relief of men, horses, elephants,

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199. MS. No. 445, in Rājā Jotindramohan Tagore's Library, Fol. 56*a*.
200. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, I. p. 299.
201. Some of the bucklers used during the Trojan war had wooden handles.

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deer, fishes, birds, tortoises, lizards, and floral scrolls, and having a scalloped inner edge. A medallion of a chaste design covers the centre, and to it is attached a thick bushy yak-tail *cauri*; a second *cauri* of the same kind, but with a differently formed handle, hangs from the top. For distinctive badges it has two well-formed lizards. At first sight, this buckler appears to be a sort of a pageant shield intended more for display on festive occasions than for use; but it was found in the hand of a warrior crouching under a prancing horse, whose rider had dismounted and was ready with a drawn sword to give him the *coup de grace*.

Armour for the head : Defensive armour for the head has nowhere been noticed in Orissa. The heads of warriors are either left with their natural covering of hair, or bound round with turbans, or surmounted with high, ornamented caps. This is remarkable considering that even in the early days of the *Ṛgveda* helmets[202] were greatly prized; and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* much praise is bestowed on those who succeeded [**125**] in cleaving the helmets (*kirīṭa*) of their adversaries. During the middle ages, the Marhattas used very extensively iron casques with neck-guard, cheek flaps, and moveable nose-pieces; and in the poems of Cand the helmet is frequently mentioned.

Armour for the trunk : Armour for the body is likewise, wanting at Bhuvaneśvara and Puri. But in Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, there is a figure from Amarāvatī lithographed from a drawing in the *Mackenzie Collection*, (plate LXVI), which appears as if dressed in a coat of chain-mail; (Illustration No. 91); but without a careful examination of the original, its nature cannot be definitively settled. This is, however, scarcely necessary, for there is ample written evidence to prove that formerly metallic coats were in common use, as in Europe during the middle ages, by superior officers and distinguished warriors and chiefs. The Kṣatriya or miliary caste early assumed the distinctive surname of Varman or the "mail-clad," and the Sanskrit language includes more than a dozen names for armour for the chest. In the *Ṛgveda* the coat of mail (*kavaca*) is repeatedly mentioned. Thus, Agni is invoked "to blaze (fiercely), repelling repeatedly, like a coat of mail, the enemies of his worshippers in combats."[203] The Aśvins are asked to be "like two dogs, warding off injury to the persons" of his adorers, "and, like two coats of mail, to defend them from decay."[204] "When the mailed warrior advances in front of battles, his form is like that of a cloud : with his body unwounded do thou conquer; may the strength of the armour defend thee."[205] Again, "I cover thy vital parts with armour."[206] "Slayer of enemies, thou, Indra, art our armour."[207] In none of these and in several other such passages is the material of the armour indicated; but the Maruts are described in two or three places as having "golden breast-plates".[208] Elsewhere the attendants of Kasu, son of Cedi, are described as "wearing cuirasses

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202. "The brilliant (Maruts), bearing the lightning in their hands, radiant above all, gloriously display their golden helmets on their heads." Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. p. 251.

203. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II. 66. 204. *Ibid.* II. 310. 205. *Ibid.* IV. 23,

206. *Ibid.* IV. 27. 207. *Ibid.* IV. 80. 208. *Ibid.* IV. 300.

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of leather", [209] and in an old hymn in the First Book, Agni is said to defend "the man who gives presents (to the priests) on every side, like well-stitched armour", which Dr. Wilson supposed was a "quilted jacket such as is still sometimes worn". [210] This leather, or quilted coat was probably longer than the chain-mail, and reached the knees. Something like it is described in the following passage from the *Uttararāmacarita* in which Janaka expresses his first impression of Rāma :

"You have rightly judged
His birth : for see, on either shoulder hangs
The martial quiver, and the feathery shafts
Blend with his curling locks : below his breast,
Slight tinctured with the sacrificial ashes,
The deer skin wraps his body : with the zone
Of *mūrva* bound, the madder-tinted garb
Descending vests his limbs ; the sacred rosary
Begirts his wrist, and in one hand he bears
The *pipal* staff, the other grasps the bow". [211]

The picture, however, is ideal, and portrays what the poet thought had been the attire, some twenty centuries before him, of a military student in his noviciate, long before he had earned his spurs. It cannot be accepted as a safe guide for any historical conclusion. The great *Śatarudrīya* hymn of the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, which dates from a much earlier period, is, however, precise on the subject. It addresses Rudra as girt in "cotton-quilted cuirass", and "iron-mail" and "armour". [212] The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are more positive on the subject, and state the *Kavaca* to be an iron armour, though they are silent as to whether the form was that of beaten plates sewed on cloth or leather, or of chain-mail. In the latter, some mail coats are described to be of iron plated over with gold ; others white and lined with steel, and studded with a hundred eyes. [213] Sanskrit lexicographers are, likewise, universally of opinion that the *kavaca* was made of iron ; but they too afford no positive information as to its make. Judging from the prevalence of chain-mail among the Marhattas, I am disposed to think that a shirt of mail formed of small iron or steel rings interwoven was preferred to solid breast-plates ; but leather was not altogether rejected. The Marhattas used mail with inlaid plates ; and coats of rhinoceros or buffaloe-hide boiled in oil were also common.

[**126**] Allusion has already been made to the forearm guard noticed in the Vedas (*ante* p. [120]). In the *Mahābhārata*, it is also mentioned, as also a visor, [214] but there is no name in Sanskrit for shoulder, leg and thigh guards, or other article of defensive equipment. The Marhattas had a large steel gauntlet, but it has no ancient name.

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209. *Ibid.* IV. 239. 210. *Ibid.* I. 83. 211. *Hindu Theatre*, I. 346.
212. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 270. 213. Virāṭa Parva, Chap. 31.
214. Droṇācārya, when wounded, is said to have raised his visor, and Arjuna took the opportunity to send an arrow to his face which proved fatal.

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Flags, trumpets and war-cries : Immediately after arms and armour it would not be amiss to notice three objects, which, though perfectly harmless by themselves, exercise the most potent influence in warfare, *viz.* the flag, the trumpet and the war cry. As a rallying point for soldiers in action, or the assemblage of troops, the flag is of the highest importance, and a feeling of chivalrous devotion to it has at all times been cherished as a point of military honor. "The idea of such a signal", says an able writer on the *Scope and Uses of Military Literature and History*, "is universal, and the external cause of its adoption obvious. However little accustomed men may be to act in concert, it is always possible to unite them in one mass by the conspicuous display of a striking object in a central position. If the uplifting of this ensign be accompanied by the shout of a strong-voiced man, or the commanding tone of a loud instrument, the appeal to two organs of sensation, both the ear and the eye, must be followed by an increased degree of alertness on the part of the troops so summoned" (p. 159). The Hindus, from a very early period in their history, availed themselves of all the three, *viz* the standard, the war-cry, and the trumpet, or what was the same, some instrument for creating shrill wide-spreding sounds. The *Ṛgveda* alludes to banners, [215] and in the *Mahābhārata*, the heroism of knocking down the enemy's standard is everywhere highly extolled. The war-cry is, likewise, mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, [216] and in the great epics. The words used were either religious sayings, or the name of the leader added to the word *jaya* or victory, such as *jaya Rāma*, "victory to Rāma", or *jayastu Pāṇḍuputrāṇām*, "success to the sons of Pāṇḍu", or some other word suited to the occasion, very much in the same way as in Europe, and whence, as Sir S. Megouk supposes, armorial mottos had their origin.

According to the *Ṛgveda*, the most ancient instrument for calling troops together or conveying orders to them or exciting them to valorous deeds was the drum. Thus : "War drum, fill with your sound both heaven and earth ; and let all things, fixed or moveable be aware of it ; do thou, who art associated with Indra and the gods, drive away our foes to the remotest distance. Sound loud against the (hostile) host : animate our prowess : thunder aloud, terrifying the evil-minded : repel, drum, those whose delight it is to harm us : thou art the first of Indra ; inspire us with fierceness. Recover these our cattle, Indra ; bring them back : the drum sounds repeatedly as a signal : our leaders, mounted on their steeds, assemble ; may our warriors, riding on their cars, Indra, be victorious".[217] But Vyāsa, in the *Mahābhārata*, does not allude to it. He replaces it by *pāñcajanya*, and other forms of conch shells, with which the heroes of the Great War of Kurukṣetra rallied their several *corps d'armée*. [218] The conch shell, however, was not unknown in the time of the *Ṛgveda*, and Kutsa refers to "those appliances with which the Aśvins sound the conch-shell in the battle for their share of the booty". [219]

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215. Wilson's Translation, I. 265 ; II. 11, 321 ; IV. 145-266.

216. *Ibid.* I. 105.

217. *Ibid.* III. 476.

218. Very different was the use to which Poseidon assigned the *Koñcā*, when he employed his son Triton to blow it to soothe the restless waves of the sea.

219. *Ṛgveda*, I. 287.

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In the most ancient sculptures, such as those of Sāñcī, the flag is represented as an oblong piece of cloth with or without diagonal crossed stripes like a St. George's cross, or a number of stars. (Illustrations Nos. 219 and 220, copied from Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*). At Bhuvaneśvara, it is invariably triangular and of plain ground. The staff is surmounted, according to the religious faith of the people who bore it, by either a trident or a discus. In ancient literature mention is made of Garuḍas, Hanumāns and crescents, as mountings for the tops of flagstaffs ; also as armorial emblems on the ground of the flags. "Thus Arjuna's flag bore the monkey Hanumān, Bhīṣma's, a palm tree, Duryodhana's a serpent, Kṛpa's a bull. [220] The last was also the emblem of Śiva whence his name Vṛṣaketana or "bull-flagged". The *Harivaṃśa* makes mention of birds painted on the ground of flags, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Janaka has the title of Sitādhvaja, from his standard having borne the figure of a plough. The *Agni Purāṇa* makes a distinction between the large standard *dhvaja* and the banner *patākā* of minor divisions. [221] It notices, likewise, particular colours as belonging to particular chiefs. The *Kumārasambhava* describes flags of China silk set up in the palace of the mountain king Himālaya on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. [222] But ordinarily, [**127**] I suppose, cotton cloth was the material used. In the *Śāhnāmeh* the leather apron of a blacksmith is made to do duty for a banner, and Ovid notices a bundle of hay used for that purpose. Among the Egyptians, figures, of birds, beasts, and reptiles mounted on long poles served the same end, but the Hindus seem to have invariably used cloth ; at least there is nothing to show to the contrary. Graven stones do not, however, help us much in the matter.

Of trumpets, mention has already been made when treating of musical instruments. It has nowhere been seen used singly as a military call-bell, but as a member and an important one, of military bands it is frequently noticed in Sanskrit writings, and occurs likewise in sculptures. The conch-shell is common, and may be seen in the hands of Viṣṇu and Devī everywhere ; a large specimen noticed at Bhuvaneśvara has been figured in Illustration No. 173.

Horse : Next to arms and armour, the most important requirements of ancient Indian warfare were horses and elephants. Probably when the Aryans first came to India, they depended upon their horse, with a very superior breed of which, the progenitor of the modern Arab horse, they were familiar in their primitive homes in the plateau of Central Asia. In India, they subjugated the elephant ; but soon after both the horse and the elephant held a lower position than the chariot, though in the time even of the *Mahābhārata*, elephants disputed the supremacy with cars, and such distinguished chiefs as Bhagadatta, Uttara, Duryodhana, Aṇvinda and others, issued forth to battle, mounted on their elephants. At the time of Alexander's invasion, elephants had all but completely snperseded cars, for the Greek historians, while dwelling largely on the mighty phalanx of king Porus' elephants say nothing of his war chariots : this may, however, be accounted

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220. Wilson's *Works*, IV. 296.
221. *Agni Pu-āṇa*, Dhvajārohaṇa Adhyāya, p. 51.
222. santānakākīrṇamahāpathaṃ taccīnāṃśukaiḥ kalpitaketumālaḥ /

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for on the supposition that the elephants were novel and startling, whereas the car was familiar to the Greeks, and on the whole not very dangerous to them. The Hindus knew exactly the purposes for which horses and elephants were most valuable, and placed them in the wings of their army, where they could be manoeuvred without interfering with the action of the infantry in the centre, on which they depended, as the mainstay of military arrays. They also wrote several treatises on the management of those animals in health and disease. Unlike most other nations of antiquity, they employed the horse in war, both for the draught of their chariots and for the saddle, and that from the very earliest period of which we possess any notice. Driving was perhaps more fashionable than riding for the principal heroes always appeared in battle, as among the ancient Assyrians [223] and Egyptians, on chariots, and prized themselves on being *rathīs* or owners of cars. Mounted troops, however, were more common, and in the *Ṛgveda* Agni is in one place invoked "to come mounted on a rapid courser", [224] and in another place is likened to "a rider-bearing steed".[225] The Aśvins made Pedu "mount a swift charger".[226] Madhucchandas, son of Viśvāmitra, prays that he may, "under the protection of Indra, repel his enemies, whether encountering them hand to hand, or on horseback".[227] The horse was, likewise used as a beast of burden, and the Aśvins are accordingly invoked to come to the sacrifice "with viands borne on many steeds". [228]

Of the particular brood of horses the Hindus used before the Christian era, we possess very little information. The Vedas praise highly a species called *Nayut*. Subsequently the most noted and highly prized was a Central Asian race called Bāhlīka or of Balkh.[229] Guzerat, Beluchistan, Kāmboja,[230] (ancient Cabul) and Persia, also yielded many hardy animals, which were generally esteemed by the heroes of the great war of the *Mahābhārata*. Of their likeness, however, we have no remains in stone. The horses figured at Sāñcī, Amarāvatī and Bhuvaneśvara are so much alike, that it is impossible to decide upon their caste.

The favourite colour in Vedic times was the bay, and perhaps also the chestnut or the colour of the sun, *aruṇa*. This is what was to be expected, for the Central Asian sire of the Arab was a bay. In one or two places the sun is described as having glorious white horses; spotted mares, (dapple greys?) are also alluded to,[231] but subsequently, milk-white coursers were preferred. In the *Lalita Vistara*,[232] the dark

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223. "The chariots appear to have been used by the King, and the highest officers of State, who are never seen in battle on horseback; or except in sieges on foot." Layard's *Nineveh* II. 348.

224. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II. 220. 225. *Ibid.* I. 179. 226. *Ibid.* IV. 154.

227. *Ibid.* I. 20. 228. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, I. 78. 229. *Ibid.* IV. 137.

230. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā Parva.

231. "Maruts, together worshipped with sacrifices, standing in the car drawn by spotted horses, radiant with lances, delighted by ornaments". Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, II. 303.

232. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 17.

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grey of the colour of the cloud (iron-grey) is most extolled as befitting an emperor.

Saddle and bridle : The equipment for saddle horses, as seen in sculptures, consist generally of a thick large padding kept in its place by a girth, a croupiere, sometimes trellised, and a breast band, and covered over with a housing or saddle cloth of a rich pattern. Nothing like a wooden saddle is anywhere perceptible, [128] and stirrups are also wanting. This is, however, not the case with padded saddles on lions ; at Bhuvaneśvara they are invariably provided with well-formed stirrups, and human feet are represented thrust in them. In a piece of sculpture, apparently of an old date, in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, there are distinct delineations of stirrups formed of a ring with a broad, flat foot-rest. They are hung with straps proceeding from under the saddle-cloth or pad. The bridle includes a forehead strap, cheek pieces, gullet, and nose band, all studded with metal bosses. Tassels near the ears are frequently met with. A chamfron, sometimes straight, and sometimes crossed, is also generally added, and a martingale of cloth is not uncommon. The rein is single and plain, never studded as the other parts of the bridle are. It was most probably knotted or sewed on the bit, but in a piece of sculpture in the Museum of the Asiatic Society brought from Bhuvaneśvara, the joint displays a chaste floral ornament, most likely the representation of a metal boss, occupying the place of the buckle. (Woodcut No. 53). A positive buckle in the sense in which the word is now understood I have nowhere met with in ancient Indian sculptures, nor a description of it in Sanskrit literature.

Snaffles : The form of the bit is not perceptible, but rings are occasionally seen which suggest the idea of a snaffle ; and the *Agni Purāṇa* recommends five different kinds of snaffles as the most appropriate. One of these is said to have been wavy (*gomūtra*), another, crooked (*kuṭila*), a third, twisted or plaited (*Veṇī*), the fourth, a chain of lotuses or rings (*Padmamaṇḍalamālā*), and the fifth, jointed (*garbhika*). These are very different from what Arrian describes in his *Indica*. He says, "The Indians have neither saddles nor bridles, like those which the Greeks and Celts make use of ; but instead of bridles they bind a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaws, to the inner part of which the common people fix spikes of brass or iron, not very sharp, but the richer ones have them of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is a piece of iron like a dart to which the reins are fastened". [233] Commenting on this passage, Mr. Fergusson observes, "If this was the mode employed by the Indians in Alexander's time, they seem to have benefited by their intercourse with the West before the Sāñcī sculptures were executed. If any one will compare the head stalls of the bridles represented in the plate (XXXIV) with figs. 6, 7 and 8 of Plate III, they will see how perfect the head gear of these horses had become". [234] In the absence of positive proofs to the contrary, it is of course futile to question the statement of Arrian, or the accuracy of the deduction drawn from it ; but it seems rather unaccountable, why the people, who guided their horses by putting an iron dart inside the mouth and tying the reins thereto, should put a spiked band on the nose ? Not being attached to the reins, it could serve no useful purpose in checking the

233. *Indica*, Chap. XIV.

234. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 134. In support of this deduction Professor

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horse, and the idea, therefore, suggests itself that it was the martingale with its studded nose-piece which Arrian mistook for a substitute of the bit. As to the effect of Alexander's transient visit, all we have to say is that, intercourse with Europeans for near three centuries, and a century of English domination, have not yet made the Hindustāni exchange his *cārjāmā* or pad for the wooden saddle. If it be impossible to suppose that the Indian Aryans had the capacity to design a bridle for their horses which they brought with them from the plateau of Central Asia, at least two thousand years before Christ, and used from time immemorial, and a model be really required for them to copy, the Assyrians or Persians were more likely to afford it than Alexander or his successors, the Greco -Bactrians. Looking at the caparisoned horses in Layard's plates, and comparing them with similar figures in Khaṇḍagiri and Sāñcī, one sees a great deal of similitude to form a conjecture; a close examination, however, brings to light many marked peculiarities which leave no room for doubt as to their origin being different. The mode of dressing the mane and forelock was also different. The Assyrians hacked the mane, or braided it. No Indian ever hacked the mane, but braiding was not unknown. In our days it is common enough. The Hindus dressed the forelock in the form of a flowing arching crest; the Assyrians tied it in three tiers or in three separate tufts. Some times the bulk of the forelock in India was increased by the addition of false hair, and the following passage from the *Vikramorvaśī* of Kālidāsa describes a yak-tail crest :

> "The waving *cowrie* on the steed's broad brow
> Points backward, motionless as in a picture;
> And backward streams the banner from the breeze
> We meet—immovable". [235]

[129] Armour for horses : In one or two instances, I noticed something like a crinet on the neck, but in the absence of iron accoutrement of other kinds, I imagined it was due to a peculiar style of dressing the mane. In Rājaputanā there are several sculptures of complete suits of iron armour including the chamfron, the crinet, the gorget, the *poitrel*, the *croupiere a jupe*, and the leg-guard; but they are of the middle ages, and were probably copied from the chargers of the Moslem invaders. I have nowhere met with a name for iron shoes for horses; but a passage in the *Ṛgveda* referred to above, (p. [119]) suggests the idea of such shoes.

Harness for draft horses : The harness for draft horses in the olden time included a body-roller, collar and a bridle. The body-roller was apparently plain, and tied where, in our times, the surcingle is buckled; but without any padding or cloth underneath; differing in this respect from the Assyrian harness, which always included a rich saddle

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Weber's conjecture of the Sanskrit word for a snaffle, *Khalīna* (W. takes it for the bridle) being derived from the Greek *Khalinos* may be quoted. But the admission by Arrian of the use of an iron bit, and the fact of reins for horses being mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* are adverse to the theory.

235. Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, I. p. 199.

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-cloth.[236] It was intended to prevent the traces from hanging low when the horse was checked or backed. The collar was light below, but heavy at top, something like the wooden frames which were until recently used for *kerāñcī* tattoos. In fact, the idea of a collar was derived from a bullock's hump, and the contrivance was designed with a view to give a false hump to the horse, and the traces were so adjusted as to throw the weight much higher up than the point which bears the greatest strain under an ordinary collar. The remnant of this hump is represented in English dray horse-harness by a semicircular piece of leather on the top of the collar, and until recently it also appeared prominently in gig harness. The Egyptian harness-saddle was designed in the same way, placed on the highest point of the withers, and kept there by two bands, one forming a collar, and the other a girth. This was also the case with the ancient Greek harness, in which the yoke was tied on the withers by two bands, one of which served the purpose of a girth, the other, the *lépadnon*, was, according to Arnold, "a broad strap which fastened the neck of the horse to the yoke". The Assyrian breast-band, as described in the note below was very much of the same kind. The Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Assyrians however, differed from the Indians in making their horses draw their chariots by a yoke, while the latter depended on traces, and had no yoke. Wilkinson says, that the former "had traces, but on the inner side only". Such traces could not have been very effectual either for steady draught, or for preventing the horses from falling out, and the main dependence must have rested on the yoke, which he adds "sufficed for all the purposes of draught, as well as for backing the chariot ; and being fixed to the saddle, it kept the horses at the same distance and in the same relative position, and prevented their breaking outwards from the line of draught"[237] In Indian rich trappings, a trellised *croupiere* was added to serve the purpose of a kicking-strap, but it was not common. The bridle differed in no respect from what was used for saddle horses, except, perhaps, in having gaudy plumes and rosettes over the head, and by the ears.

Elephant trappings : The housing for the elephant, like that for the saddle-horse, consisted of a thick padding covered over with a piece of carpetting, or embroidered cloth, or trapping of some kind or other, and a smaller one of the same style for the neck ;

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236. The following is Mr. Layard's description of the earliest Assyrian harness : "Round the necks of the horses were hung tassels, rosettes, and engraved beads. Three straps, richly embroidered, passing under the forepart of the belly, kept the harness and chariot pole in their places. A breast-band, adorned with tassels, was also supported by these straps. To the yoke was suspended a very elegant ornament, formed by the head of an animal, and a circle, in which was sometimes introduced a winged bull, a star, or some other sacred device. It fell on the shoulder of the animal, and to it was attached three clusters of tassels. Embroidered cloths, or trappings were frequently thrown over the backs of the chariot-horses, and almost covered the body from the ears to the tail. They were kept in their place by straps passing round the breast, the rump, and the belly". Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 354.

237. *Ancient Egyptians*, I. 353.

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the former held to its place by girths, *croupiere* and kicking-straps, and the latter by ropes tied round the neck. By way of ornaments, strings of bells round the neck and the rumps, and pendant from the head, were freely employed. In some cases metallic chains were used instead of ropes ; but this was not common (Illustrations Nos. 29 and 30). No *howdāh* has anywhere been met with ; but in the *Agni Purāṇa* allusion is made to one "which should be made of wood cut out of trees that emit a milky sap when wounded ; it should be fifty fingers broad, and three cubits long, painted and decorated with gold ;" and Professor Wilson says, "the more usual riders on elephants were soldiers of a lower grade, several of whom were placed on the animal's back in a kind of chair or *howdāh*, and were armed with bows and arrows and other missiles. According to Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, each Indian elephant carried three archers besides the driver, and his account agrees well enough with what may be inferred from incidental notices of Sanskrit writers."[238]

Chariots : The oldest Indian car of which we have a drawing, occurs among the paintings of the reign of Thothmes III, (B. C. 1495). It is said to have been a present from a vanquished people of the name of *Rot-n-no*, Sanskrit *rathinaḥ* or "charioteers", who have been identified by the late Henry [130] Torrens, author of the *Scope and Uses of Military Literature*, with the Vedic Aryans of the Panjab.[239] In style and make it closely resembles the war chariot of the Sāñcī bas-reliefs, a car on two wheels, with a curricle body, open behind, and drawn by two horses ; but it has only one pole with a yoke at the end, whereas the Sāñcī specimens have three or rather one long pole in the middle curving upward near the neck of the horses, and two short shafts on the sides, reaching only as far as the flanks, but no yoke.[240] (Woodcut No. 54). For a two-horse conveyance this is the simplest contrivance, and the ordinary practice was to drive pairs, in the matching of which, great attention was paid by their owners.[241] But one-horse chases were not altogether unknown ; perhaps they were more common, but not

238. *Essays*, II. 295.

239. Mr. Layard does not subscribe to this. He quotes Mr. Birch, who "is inclined to identify the Ruten-nu or Lodan-nu, of the statistical tablet of Karnak with the Cappadocians, or Leuco-Syrians, inhabiting the country to the North and South of the Taurus, who, he conjectures, are also represented at Khorsabad". He adds : "That the Ruten inhabited a country adjoining the Assyrians, may be inferred, from their being mentioned in geographical lists between Naharaina, (Mesopotamia) and Singara (Sinjar)". Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 405.

240. By a curious mistake on the part of the artist, the outer trace in Mr. Fergusson's drawings, plates III, XXXIV, and XXXVIII, is tied to the tail of the horse. In plate XXXV, it is made to go round the rumps like a kicking-strap. In plate XXXIII, the form of the shaft is unmistakable, but it is made of a piece with the periphery of the wheel. In the woodcut above given, the true form has been attempted to be restored.

241. The old Assyrian chariot had three horses, and in this respect differed from the Indian and Egyptian which had two. Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 350.

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being worthy of laudation were not often noticed in the *Ṛgveda* hymns, though in one place we find a verse beginning with the words : "This invigorating praise, like a horse attached to a car, has been addressed thee, who art mighty and fierce."[242] The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes mention of cars drawn by asses. In the time of the *Ṛgveda*, there were three shafts to each car, and they are described as triangular. "Come Aśvins with your three-columned triangular car."[243] "We have placed you, Dasras, in your golden three-shafted chariots, going by an easy road to heaven."[244] But whether the triangle was formed by the projection of the long central pole or by the body itself, does not appear. The wheels were usually two but a third was sometimes added, as tri-wheeled carriages are greatly extolled. The chariot of the sun is described in the Purāṇas as having one wheel, one having been taken away by Indra. The ancient Roman chariot had large scythe-like blades projecting from the axles, rendering approach to the cars from the sides by enemies dangerous. A similar method of arming the wheels was probably adopted by the ancient Hindus, for we read in the *Ṛgveda*, of "golden wheels, armed with iron weapons."[245] But the Sāñcī models show no trace of these. The number of spokes to each wheel was originally five ;[246] but a greater number was subsequently introduced, and in the Sāñcī chariot above shown there are sixteen. The earliest Assyrian and Egyptian chariots had six.

Ordinarily the body was made of a wooden framework, covered with leather,[247] and open above like that of a tandem ; but sometimes an awning on top was put upon three posts, and the whole surmounted by a flag. The *Mahābhārata* describes a square body with four posts, like the modern *ekkās* of northern India. It is possible that both styles were common during the Vedic epoch. In the Sāñcī specimens the accommodation available in these vehicles was barely sufficient for two persons to stand or sit side by side. The Grecian *Diphros* as its name implies, was intended only for two persons ; and the Roman bore only the *bellator*, or warrior, and the *auriga*, or driver. The Egyptian could carry three persons. The sculptures of Assyria and Persia show no more than two persons in each. But the *Ṛgveda* alludes to three benches as fixtures in each car, and the space sufficient for several persons and some goods.[248] The *rathas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and

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242. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*, IV. 151. 243. *Ibid.* I. 126. 244. *Ibid.* II. 60.
245. *Ibid.* I. 226. 246. *Ibid.* III. 475. 247. *Ibid.* IV. 73.
248. The following extracts from Wilson's *Ṛgveda* contain allusions to the form and appurtenances of the Vedic car. "Let your spacious, and brightrayed chariot, Mitra and Varuṇa, blaze before them, like the sun, filling them with fear." (II. 6.) "Showerer of benefits, harness the car which has three benches, three wheels, and is as quick as thought ; with which, embellished with three metals, you come to the dwelling of the pious worshipper, and in which you travel like a bird with wings." (II. 184.) "With that chariot, lords of men, which is your vehicle, which has three benches, is laden with wealth," &c. (IV. 153.) "Conduct here, Aśvins, your radiating wealth-laden chariot." (IV. 153.) "Agni, kindled into flame, come to our presence in the same chariot with Indra, and with the swift gods." (II. 331).

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the *Mahābhārata* were, likewise, large and commodious, and generally carried a large supply of arms, differing in this respect from those of Egypt, Persia and Greece, which never had any covering, awning or hood, and were seldom large enough for more than three persons, all standing or seated abreast on one bench. The Grecian chariot, though differing in some respects in the make of its wheels, poles, &c. from the Vedic model, bore a close relation to the Sāñcī examples ; and to make that manifest, I shall here quote Homer's description of the curricle of Achilles.

[131] "Nbi d' a'mph' hokhéessi Thoos Bále Kampula Kukla,
Khálkea, oktáknima, sidiréo haxoni amphis.
ton hitoi khruséi hitus haphthitos, autar huperthe
khálke' epissotra prosarirota, Thauma idésthai
plimnai d' argurou eisi peridromoi amphotérothen.
diphros de khruséoisi kai arguréoisin himasin
entétatai doiai de peridromoi hantugés eisi.
tou d' ex argureos hrumos pélen autar ep' hakro
dise khruseion kalon zugon, en dé lépadna
kál' hebale, khrusei' hupo de zugon higagen Nri
hippous okupodas, memani' heridos kai autis."

Iliad, e. 722—732.

On the whole, it may be well said that the ordinary war chariots of the six great nations of antiquity, Indian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Grecian and Roman, were very much alike, though not without peculiarities to mark their ethnic relations. The many wheeled car, such as that of Jagannātha, has nowhere been met with ; but a square platform set on four wheels, and having an awning on four posts, occurs on the temple of Halabeed in Southern India, and this is, perhaps, the first germ of the more elaborate structures of the present day.

The ancient chariots were highly prized, and great pains were taken to embellish them in a manner befitting the rank of the owner. In the *Ṛgveda*, they are frequently described as of "gold", or golden. One is described as ornamented with "three metals" ; supposed to have been gold, silver and copper ; others as having gold fellies, or wheels, and golden trappings. "The Pajras, the kinsmen of Kakṣīvat, rub down the high spirited steeds decorated with golden trappings."[249] Harness with traces to thy car, thy long-maned ruddy (steeds to come) to the sacrifice."[250] "Savitṛ has mounted his high-standing chariot, decorated with many kinds of golden ornaments, and furnished with golden yokes."[251] "Indra, the abounding in acts, the bountiful, has given us, as a gift, a golden chariot."[252] "May Indra bestow upon me ten handsome golden chariots."[253] "Ascend, Aśvins, your sky-touching chariot with golden seat and golden reins. Golden is its supporting shaft, golden the axle, both golden the wheels."[254] "Rapid as thought (come) with your golden chariot drawn by quick-footed steeds."[255] "Dasras, rides in

249. Wilson's *Ṛgveda*. II. 18. 250. *Ibid*. II. 335. 251. *Ibid*. I. 98.
252. *Ibid*. I. 77. 253. *Ibid*. IV. 5. 254. *Ibid*. IV. 238. 255. *Ibid*. IV. 239.

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a golden chariot, drink the sweet beverage."[256] Many other passages like these may be easily cited to show, that the Vedic chariots were generally very richly ornamented. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, in the same way, talk of pearl fringes and jewelled decorations for the chariots of great chiefs and distinguished warriors; and flags and banners for their tops were held in great requisition, and the glory of knocking down a banner from the top of a car was highly esteemed. The Purāṇas are even more fulsome in their praise of the ornaments of ancient Indian cars, but their descriptions lead me to suppose that their ideal of a car was the *ratha* of the modern times, a tower-like structure of many storeys, mounted on a number of wheels, a very cumbrous apparatus altogether, utterly unfit for warlike purposes, and not founded on the model of the Sāñcī chariot. Thus the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, in describing a chariot of Viṣṇu which certain Brāhman women beheld descending from the sky, says: "It was a most excellent car, made of gold, mounted with mirrors made of crystals, covered over with jewels, furnished with posts made of precious stones, capped with *kalasas* of valuable jewels, having white yak tail *cauris* hanging from different places, lined with cloth pure as fire, bedecked with garlands of *Pārijāta* flower, mounted on a hundred uniform wheels, quick moving like thought, and most charming."[257] The *Devī Purāṇa* thus describes a car for the goddess Durgā, who, it seems, was formerly taken about in a car much in the same way as Jagannātha is in the present day, and Buddhist relics were in former times: "The posts should be made of ivory, mounted with showy golden ornaments, and set with rubies and other jewels. The car of the goddess should have seven magnificent storeys, with curtains of silk cloth and mountings of crescents, and decorated with bells, large and small, gongs, *cāmaras*, rings, pennons, flags, and looking-glasses. Such a car [132] should first be worshipped, Indra, with flowers of the Jessamin tribe, and the *pārijāta*, with agallochum and sandal paste, with the aroma of fragrant pastiles, and then the image of the goddess should be placed in it."[258]

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256. *Ibid.* IV. 253.

257. etasminnantare tatra śātakumbharatham varam /
dadarśa viprapatnīśca patantam gaganādaho //
ratnadarpaṇasamyuktam ratnasāraparicchadam /
ratnastambhairnivaddhañca sadratnakalasojjvalam //
śvetacāmarasamyuktam vahniśuddhāmśukānvitam /
pārijātaprasūnānām mālājālavirājitam //
śatacakrasamāyuktam manoyāyi manoharam /

258. dantidantamayairdaṇḍairhemabaddhaiḥ suśobhanaiḥ /
vicitrapadmarāgādyairmaṇibhirupaśobitaiḥ //
rathantaiḥ kārayeddevyāḥ saptabhaumam manoramam /
dukūlavastrasañchannamardhacandropaśobhitam //
ghaṇṭākiṅkiṇiśaṅkhādyam cāmaraiḥ kaṭakānvitam /
patākādhvajaśobhāḍhyam darpaṇairupaśobhitam //
tam ratham pūjayecchakra jātikusumamallikaiḥ /
pārijātakapuṣpaiśca yakṣakardamacandanaiḥ //
sugandhadhūpitaiḥ kṛtvā devīm tatra niveśayet //

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Nor was this fondness for the decoration of their chariots a peculiarity among the Hindus. The other great nations of ancient times were equally ardent in their desire to display their wealth and consequence by profusely ornamenting their cars. "The later chariots of the Assyrians", says Mr. Layard, "were often completely covered with ornaments; those represented on earlier monuments had a very elegant moulding or border, round the sides. They were probably inlaid with gold, silver and precious woods; and also painted. Such were the chariots obtained by the Egyptians from Naharaina, (Mesopotamia), fifteen centuries before Christ. In the statistical tablet of Karnak are mentioned thirty chariots worked with gold and silver with painted poles as brought from that country,"[259] These, as already shown above, are believed by a competent archaeologist to have been of Indian origin, (*ante* p. [130]). Much of the precious ornaments mentioned by Sanskrit writers was doubtless, due to lively fancy and poetical imagery; but their descriptions imply a substratum of some ornament in addition to the absolute constructive requirements of the vehicles. What those ornaments exactly were, it is of course impossible to ascertain; but the frequent mention of gold and precious stones as materials of decoration, would suggest the idea of their having been to some extent used, the rest being made of brass knobs and plates, many coloured cloths, fringes of netting, and tassels. Such ornamented chariots were intended for ordinary use, and they were also provided with hoods or coverings, tops and screens for protection from sun and rain, and other appliances. In the *Dictionary* of Amara Simha, separate names are given for such vehicles, such as *Dvaipa* and *Vaiyāghra* for cars having coverings of tiger skins; *Pāṇḍukambaliya*, *Kāmbala*, *Vāstra*, for woolen-covered cars; *Puṣparatha*, non-military car, &c. Hemacandra, in his Sanskrit vocabulary, enumerates several kinds of chariots adapted for various purposes of life. The names he gives are *Śatāṅga-ratha*, *Syandanaratha*, *Puṣpa-ratha*, *Marudratha*, *Yogya-ratha*, *Parighātika*, *Karṇi-ratha*, and *Rathagarbhaka*. The first two were intended for proceeding to the battle-field; the third for enjoyment; the fourth, for carrying about images of gods; the fifth, for magistrates; the sixth, for travelling; the seventh, for fighting; and the eighth, for ascending in the air. How these several vehicles were constructed, and in what respects they differed from each other, the author does not notice. Most of the words have been used in Sanskrit literature as synonymous terms; in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Puṣparatha* has been assigned to Rāma for his journey from Ceylon to Oudh; and the *Vaināyika*, which appears like an epithet for *Jogya-ratha* in the passage quoted, [260] is explained by Professor Wilson as a war chariot, and not a state

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259. Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 352.

260. yuddhārthe cakravadyāne śatāṅgaḥ syandano rathaḥ /
saṃkrīḍārthaḥ puṣparatho devārthastu marudrathaḥ //
yogyo ratho vainayiko'dhvarathaḥ parighātikaḥ /
karṇīrathaḥ prabaraṇaṃ ḍayanaṃ rathagarbhakaḥ //

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carriage. It may fairly be presumed that the various names given in the vocabulary are not synonyms, but terms denoting vehicles differing from each other in shape, size, make, and character, and that vehicles, of various kinds, large and small, were in use among the ancient Hindus, though we are not in a position now to point out their distinctive peculiarities. Covered carriages are frequently mentioned, and, seeing that the constructive ingenuity necessary for coverting an open cart into a covered vehicle is exceedingly small, there is no reason to doubt the former existence of such conveyances. It is worthy of note, however, that in the Sāñcī bas-reliefs, the open war-chariot shown above in the woodcut is the conveyance selected for a religious procession, and the sacred object placed in it is shielded from the rays of the sun by an umbrella held over it. It may be asked, had the people conveyances with hoods or awning for use at the time, why should they have rejected them and brought forth so insignificant a vehicle for a ceremony, the main object of which was to produce a grand impression on the minds of the common people? A large covered van or car is far better adapted for decoration and show than an ancient war chariot, and the testimony of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* leaves no room for doubt that such large structures were known. To reconcile this conflict, I can only suppose that custom—and custom in matters of religious ceremonies is all powerful—must have decided in favour of the war chariot. In the beginning of fifth century, Fa Hian, however, found in Behar something very like the modern *rath* used in carrying about Buddhist images in religious processions. He says, "Every year, in celebration of the eighth day of the moon *mao,* they (the people) prepare four-wheeled cars, on which they erect bamboo stages, supported by spears, so that they form a pillar two *cang* high, having the appearance of a tower. They cover it with a carpet of white felt upon which they place the images of all the celestial divinities, which they decorate [133] with gold and silver and coloured glass. Above they spread an awning embroidered work ; at the four corners are chapels, having each a Buddha seated with Bodhisattvas standing beside him."[261]

The driver of the chariot, among all the six races, generally occupied the left side ; but they never held the subordinate position which Jehu does in the present day. Looking to the manner in which Homer makes his heroes treat their charioteers and the familiarity which a driver is represented as taking with a son of the Great Rameses, Sir Gardener Wilkinson thinks "that we may conclude that the office in Egypt and Greece was filled by persons of consideration, who were worthy of the friendship they enjoyed."[262] In India, in the same way, the *sārathi* was always held in high respect, and even the great Kṛṣṇa did not think it unbecoming his dignity to become the charioteer Arjuna. Arjuna, on his part, acted in the same capacity for Uttara, son of Virāṭa : and Mātali, the *sārathi* of Indra, is represented as an adviser in many points to Rāma and Duṣyanta.[263] Other charioteers seem to have enjoyed equal distinction. In fact, the warriors and the

261. Laidley's *Fa Hian*, p. 255. 262. *Ancient Egyptians*. I. 337.
263. *Śakuntalā*, Act. VII.

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charioteers were either men of nearly equal rank, and both joined "in the labours and glory of the fight," or the office was awarded "as a mark of distinction and trust" for distinguished service. Hence it is that the art of chariot-driving was held as an important gentlemanly accomplishment, and the heroes of ancient days always prided themselves upon their proficiency in it.

The numbers of chariots employed for military purposes were great. According to the *Amarakoṣa*, every battalion (*vāhinī*) of four hundred and five foot soldiers included eighty-one cars and two hundred and forty-three horse ; three such battalions formed a *pṛtanā* ; three *pṛtanās* formed a *camū* ; three *camūs* constituted an *anīkinī* ; and ten such *anīkinīs* an *akṣauhiṇī* or complete brigade, including twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy cars, the same number of elephants, sixty-five thousand six hundred and ten horses, and one million nine thousand three hundred and fifty foot soldiers. It is doubtful if any prince had anything approaching to such a mighty host for his *corps d'armée*, but the arrangement and nomenclature in a dictionary indicate that large assemblages of cars were not quite uncommon.

If this be admitted it must follow that roads for such vehicles were also extant. The great epics describe urban roads as wide and spacious, lined on both sides with shops of various kinds and private mansions of elegance and beauty. The *Rāmāyaṇa* notices the practice of watering the street to allay the dust, (*ante* p. [21]), and refers to a large trunk road extending from Oudh to the Panjab. The Vedas also make mention of roads for cars and waggons, and they offer very strong presumptive evidence of a settled, civilized life among the people as distinct from a nomadic or purely pastoral existence. It is impossible to say whether the roads were ever metalled with stones or bricks : perhaps they were not ; but in a country so abounding in *kaṅkar*, as the North-Western Provinces are, and occurring as that substance does often on the very surface of the earth, it could have scarcely escaped the notice of man who made roads, and watered them to keep down dust.

Waggons : The *Ṛgveda* makes mention of waggons ; so do the great national epics ; and the *Lexicon* of Amara Siṃha gives distinct names for covered conveyances of several kinds, as also for open carts for the carriage of goods. The *Mṛcchakaṭika*, which, as already stated, dates, according to Wilson, from the second century before the Christian era, and under the lowest computation cannot be brought down below the beginning of that epoch, takes its name from a fictile model of a cart, which had been given to a child as a substitute for a golden one, which it had seen with a playmate, and wished to have, but which could not be provided by his indigent parents. In the play itself, there are descriptions of roads blocked by a great number of carts, of coverd litters provided with cushions, having doors behind, and drawn by two bullocks, and carts and litters of different qualities,—all which cannot but be accepted as indications of vehicles of various descriptions having been in common use. I do not remember to have anywhere read of a one-bullock cart ; but in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*, mention is made of a waggon or car which was drawn by a team of which one was a bull and the other a buffaloe. A sage, named Mudgala, is said to have achieved great success in the

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battle-field by driving this ill-matched pair, And seeing that mention is made in that work of a team of four bullocks yoked to a plough, it may be very reasonably concluded that occasionally waggons had more than a pair. Three and four bullocks to a cart or waggon is common enough in the present day in the North-Western Provinces. The nature of the country never rendered such large teams as of ten to twenty bullocks, so common in Cape Colony, necessary or desirable in India.

Of the form of the covered waggon we have only one example in the Amarāvatī sculptures, and it corresponds pretty closely [134] with the description given in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a two-wheeled vehicle drawn by a pair of bullocks, and opening behind to receive the riders, the driver being seated in front in the same way as in the present day. (Woodcut No. 55, copied from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate LXV) Indeed, the persistency of custom in this respect appears so great, and the progress of art so cramped, that no appreciable change has been effected within the course of the last sixteen hundred years, and the North Indian waggon of to-day seems to differ in no respect from what was in use in the fourth century of the Christian era.

Whip and goad : The whip as delineated at Sāñcī is a stiff leather thong attached to a short handle, very like the modern *Koḍā*. It was called *kaśā*, and under that name is frequently mentioned in ancient writings. For elephants the *aṅkuśa*, or a short staff mounted with an iron crook, was the only instrument in use for guiding them, and it remains unchanged to this day. The *aṅkuśa* shown in Illustration No. 194, taken from the Sāñcī bas-reliefs, differs in no respect from the instrument of that class now in use all over India.

Palankeens, &c. : The Palankeen (*śivikā*) is frequently named in the great epics and other Sanskrit works ; but it has not yet been met with in sculptures, and its ancient form, therefore, remains unknown. In its place we have a sort of a moveable kiosk, or sedan, with four posts bearing a canopy, and carried on men's shoulders on two poles. The body of the vehicle is a square wooden platform mounted on four short legs, and provided with rich cushions and pillows. It is used to this day on ceremonial occasions, and is known under the name of *Caturdolā*. It bears a close resemblance to the *Sukhāsana* noticed in connexion with thrones, (*ante.* p. [104]), and is in fact a variety of it.

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Chapter V.

[135] Religion of the Temple-Builders : Primitive idea of religion. Buddhism. Hinduism. Śivaism ; its origin. Objections to its Aryan origin. Objections considered. Relation of Śiva to Rudra. The origin of the myth of Rudra. Relation of Rudra to the *Liṅgam*. Tāntric Doctrine of Śāktaism. Vaiṣṇavism; its antiquity ; its development. The doctrine of Bhakti ; its modifications ; its relation to Sufism ; its development by Caitanya. The cults of Sūrya and Gaṇeśa.

"The lowest savages", says Sir John Lubbock, "have no idea of a deity at all. Those slightly more advanced, regard him as an enemy to be dreaded, but who may be resisted with a fair prospect of success ; who may be cheated by the cunning, and, defied by the strong. Thus the natives of the Nicobar islands endeavour to terrify their deity by scare-crows, and the Negro beats his fetish, if his prayers are not granted. As tribes advance in civilization, their deities advance in dignity ; but their power is still limited ; one governs the sea, another the land ; one reigns over the plains, another among the mountains. The most powerful are vindictive, cruel, and unjust. They require humiliating ceremonies and bloody sacrifices". [1] There is nothing to show that the Uriyā does now, or ever did, form an exception to this rule. In his most primitive state, as represented by the Paṭuā, [2] he has to this day no idea of a deity at all ; and it would be no violent presumption to suppose that in early prehistoric times, he was no better than the Paṭuā of the present day. The first step in advance brought him to face gods, inimical, fierce and cruel, whom he had "to cheat by cunning, or defy by strength", and in this form he is met with in the Śabaras of the present day. The next step brings us to the Khonds who appease their gods with human sacrifices and bloody offerings. It is probable that the Uriyā appeared in all these different forms in different parts of Orissa when the *Vrātya* or degraded Kṣatriyas of Manu first came among them, and gave a new impulse to progress, (*ante* p. 2). Two such markedly dissimilar forms of humanity as the ancient aboriginal Uriyā and the Hindu, could not abide together without causing a ferment. The strong must have told upon the weak, and it is to be presumed that thereupon, as in other parts of India, the history of Aryan civilization repeated itself driving the

1. *British Association Report*, 1869, p. 144.
2. *Journal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal. (XXV. p. 295 *et seq*) Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 157.

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more obstinate and resolute, i. e. those who were most attached to independence among the aborigines, from their homes to the shelter of hill sides and forests, and amalgamating, though partially, with the more docile and tractable, by admitting them into the pale of Hinduism as a servile race. The intercourse thus established led, as elsewhere, to extensive miscegenation, and the result was a mixed race, who professed forms of Aryan religion, tinctured more or less with the ancient faith of the country, according to the social status of the different orders of the people. The lowest stratum probably remained, as they continue to this day, nearly unchanged ; while the highest bore a close similitude to the ordinary run of the Brāhmaṇical order of Northern India. On the whole, the bulk of the people were Hindus, and professed a Hindu faith ; at least such is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the mention of the *Vrātya* Kṣatriyas by Manu.

It was this mixed race and degenerate form of Hinduism that Buddhism first encountered when it made its appearance in Orissa. And as the earliest remains of human art that have yet come under notice in that province are unmistakably Buddhist, it is not necessary for the purposes of this essay to go beyond the earliest date to which they extend.

Buddhism : Remains of Buddhist monuments have been met with in almost every part of Orissa : Balasore, Jājapur, Asighar, Nālti, and different parts of the Puri district afford them in pretty abundance ; but the most important are the caves of Udayagiri, and the carved rock of Dhauli. Both contain Pāli inscriptions in the oldest Indian, or the Lat, character, [3] and are unquestionably works of the third and fourth centuries before Christ. Taking this as the starting-point we have a period of over a thousand years to the time of Hiouen Thsang during which [136] Buddhism prevailed in the country. It is not to be supposed, however, that Buddhism must necessarily date its introduction into the country from the time of these inscriptions. It may fairly be inferred that the first missionaries of that faith must have made their appearance long before the promulgation of the edicts of Aśoka. It would be equally wide of the mark to imagine that it ever was universally accepted by the Uriyās, for there is nothing to show that Buddhism did succeed in any part of India, much less in Orissa, entirely to extirpate the pre-existing religion of the people. As a reformation of the current faith, it fought its way, and for a time, as the state religion, held its supremacy ; but the Buddhist records themselves admit that it always lived side by side with Hinduism. In the middle of the seventh century, Hiouen Thsang found "the followers of error and of the truth living pell-mell" in the capital, and "many heretics, who frequented the temples of the Devas". [4] According to the Siyuki (*Lib.* X. fol. 10), amidst a hundred monasteries and ten thousand monks, "there were fifty temples of the gods" [5] devoted to Hinduism. This proportion must doubtless have varied considerably at different times, and under particular circumstances ; but there is nothing to justify the conclusion that one of the two

3. A Pāli inscription is said to have been met with at Nālti, but I have not yet seen it.
4. Martin's *Hiouen Thsang*, p. 183. 5. *Ibid.* p. 425.

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contending elements was ever wanting in Orissa, since the day of the first introduction of Buddhism into it.

The form of Buddhism which prevailed in the time of Hiouen Thsang was that of the "Great Translation" or the *Mahāyāna*, [6] i. e., the most developed form as settled at the Third Convocation in the time of Aśoka. But the "Little Translation" was not unknown at the time, and the first missionaries who brought the faith to Orissa long before the date of Aśoka, must have preached one or more of the earlier forms of the faith. The sculptures extant, however, do not afford any information on the subject, and it would require more space and time than I can spare to discuss it in all its detail in this place.

Hinduism : The temples of the Devas noticed by Hiouen Thsang were probably mostly Śivaite, for it was during the two centuries preceding his travels in India that the new impulse given to the worship of the Dread Destroyer, Rudra, by the Keśari dynasty, had manifested itself by raising to the honor of Śiva several lofty temples which preceded the completion of the great tower of Bhuvaneśvara. Seeing, however, that some of the Gupta Rājās were at least three centuries before followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith at Eran and Allahabad, it would not be presumptuous to conclude that that form of Hinduism was, likewise, known and practised by some of the Uriyās. Exception might doubtless be taken to the conclusion on the ground of no trace of its existence at the time having yet been met with. But such a line of argument would serve only to defeat itself ; for it might be made to apply to Vedic Hinduism of which no tangible relics are extant, and written history, even such as are accessible, will easily set aside the objection in either case.

Sivaism : Exception might also be taken to Śivaism being reckoned as a Hindu form of worship, the opinion among some European orientalists being in favour of its non-Aryan, or Tamulian, origin. The question is of great importance in connexion with the history of the structures which form the subject of this essay, and it is necessary therefore to dwell on it at some length.

Its origin : The *pro* and *contra* of the question may be argued with equal force. On the one hand apparently the most incontrovertible arguments might be culled from the Hindu Śāstras, to prove the non-Aryan origin of Śivaism, often from works which are avowedly intended to glorify and promote that form of worship. While on the other, equally strong reasons might be adduced to show that it formed a part and parcel of the Brāhmaṇical orders from a very remote period in the history of man, and was one of the earliest objects of human faith even in the most ancient seats of civilization.

Objections to Aryan origin : The arguments in favour of the non-Aryan theory may be enumerated under the following eight heads :—

1st. Vedic denunciation of phallic worship.
2nd. Denunciations in the Smṛtis.
3rd. Numerical inferiority.

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6. *Ibid.* p. 113.

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4th. Unholy character of the offerings to Śiva.
5th. Prohibition to build temples of Śiva within the limits of towns and villages.
6th. Anti-Vedic character of Śiva's chief worshippers.
7th. The shape of Śiva.
8th. The disreputable character of Śiva.

[137] First objection : The 1st argument is founded on a passage in the *Saṃhitā* of the *Ṛgveda*. In the 21st hymn of the 7th *Maṇḍala*, Vaśiṣṭha prays to Indra to preserve his sacrifice from being defiled by the worshippers of the phallus, who are taken for granted to be inimical to Vedic rites, and classed with Rākṣasas, evil spirits, and disorderly beings. The passage runs thus : "Let not the Rākṣasas, Indra, do us harm ; let not the evil spirits do harm to our progeny ; most powerful (Indra), let the sovereign lord (Indra exert himself in the restraint of disorderly beings, so that the *Śiśnadevāḥ* may not disturb our rite". [7] The word *Śiśnadevāḥ* literally means "those who have the phallus (*śiśna*) for their god (*deva*)". Yāska takes it to imply "persons who do not observe *Brahmacarya*" or continence, i. e., unchaste, (*abrahmacarya ityarthaḥ*) in the same way as gluttons are described in the Bible by the phrase "whose god is their belly ;" but this explanation is not satisfactory, inasmuch as the unchaste are nowhere reckoned in the Veda to be as low as Rākṣasas or evil spirits, nor the contamination caused by contact with them such as to require divine intervention ; on the contrary, a simple expiatory offering with butter, or a certain number of repetitions of the *gāyatrī*, is held sufficient to render the unchaste fit for the priestly office. The word is of rare occurrence, and a very different word is ordinarily used to indicate those who are addicted to carnal enjoyment. It may, therefore, be presumed to imply the aboriginal phallic worshippers, who are, likewise, the Dasyus, Asuras, Rākṣasas, and other evil spirits of the Vedic writings.

Second objection : The 2nd refers to denunciations in the Smṛti. The passage which has to be quoted in support of this assertion occurs in the *Vaśiṣṭha Smṛti*, a work attributed to the same *ṛṣi* who denounces the *Śiśnadevāḥ* in the *Ṛgveda*. The work is of a much later date, and is most probably a compilation, such as the *Saṃhitā* of Manu unquestionably is ; but it is nevertheless a work of high repute, and forms one of the principal guides to modern Hindu domestic and religious rites. It has been thus rendered by Professor Max Müller :

"A Brāhman versed in the four Vedas, who does not find Vāsudeva, is a donkey of a Brāhman, trembling for the heavy burden of the Veda. Therefore, unless a man be a

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7. na yātava indra jujuvurnā no vindana śabiṣṭavedyābhiḥ /
na śardhadaryo viṣuṇasya jantormā śiśnadevā api gurṛtaṃ naḥ //
śisnena dīvyanti krīḍanta iti śiśnadevāḥ / abrahmacaryā ityarthaḥ /
Dr. H. H. Wilson, after quoting this passage of Yāska, adds,
"but it may have the sense of those who hold the Liṅga for a deity." *Ṛgveda*, IV. p. 6.

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Vaiṣṇava, his Brāhmanhood will be lost ; by being a Vaiṣṇava one obtains perfection, there is no doubt. For Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) the highest Brahma, is the deity of the Brāhmans ; Soma, Sūrya, and the rest are the gods of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas ; while Rudra and similar gods ought to be sedulously worshipped by the Śūdra. Where the worship of Rudra is enjoined in the Purāṇas and law-books, it has no reference to Brāhmans as Prajāpati declared. The worship of Rudra and the Tripuṇḍra (the three horizontal marks across the forehead) are celebrated in the Purāṇas, but only for the castes of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, and not for others. Therefore, ye excellent *munis*, the Tripuṇḍra must not be worn by Brāhmans". [8] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* follows this very closely and says : "Those who profess the cults of Bhava (Śiva) and those who follow his doctrines, are heretics and enemies of the sacred Śāstras". [9] Similar passages may be quoted from the other Purāṇas. The strong feeling of attachment which they evince towards the worship of Viṣṇu, is of course due to uncompromising sectarian zeal ; but the question suggests itself, does the statement that the worship of Rudra as inculcated in the Purāṇas is designed for the Śūdras, owe its origin to that cause solely, or to anything more historical ?

Third objection : The 3rd argument is based on the numerical inferiority of the Śivites. The number of Hindus who have accepted Śiva for their special divinity is limited. The various classes of houseless hermits apart, there are very few persons who have accepted the *vīja mantra* of this divinity, and worship him to the exclusion of all other gods. Doubtless all the Śāktas pay him high respect, but only as the husband of Umā, and not as the god elect for their salvation. The Vaiṣṇavas also look upon him with great veneration, but only as one of the triad, and a person who has attained the highest perfection in meditation, as the greatest of *Yogīs*, and not as the giver of salvation. These remarks may appear to Europeans irreconcilable with the fact that Śivite temples are infinitely more abundant in every part of India than those of all the other gods put together ; but to Hindus who know the number of [138] the several classes of *gurus*, or spiritual guides, whose especial duty is to initiate people in the secret *mantras* of the different gods, they will cause no wonder : there is scarcely one in a hundred *gurus* whose vocation is to impart the *mantra* of Śiva ; and he is generally the poorest, owing to his having the smallest number of disciples. Even by Europeans "it will be generally observed", says Professor Wilson, "that these temples (of Śiva) are scarcely ever the resort of numerous votaries, and that they are regarded with comparatively little veneration by the Hindus. Benares, indeed, furnishes exceptions, and the temple of Viśveśvara is thronged with a never ceasing crowd of adorers. There is, however, little solemnity or veneration in the hurried maner in which they throw their flowers or

8. *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 55. caturvedī ca yo viprah *et seq.* tripuṇḍram viprāṇāṃ na dhāryaṃ munisattamāḥ //

9. bhavavratadharā ye ca ye ca tan samanuvratāḥ /
pāṣaṇḍinaste bhavantu sacchāstraparipanthinaḥ //

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fruits before the image, and there are other temples, the dwellings of other divinities, that rival the abode of Viśveśvara in popular estimation". [10]

The hermits, who constitute the especial worshippers of Śiva, are all professional mendicants, living in rare instances "collected in opulent and numerous associations, but for the greater part detached, few, and indigent". Their total number constitutes but a small fraction of the Hindu community. [11]

From a survey of these facts the conclusion at which Professor Wilson arrived was, that "the adoration of Śiva has never assumed, in Upper India, a popular form. He appears in his shrines only in an unattractive and rude emblem, the mystic purpose of which is little understood, or regarded by the uninitiated and vulgar, and which offers nothing to interest the feelings or excite the imagination". [12]

Fourth objection : One most important mark of reverence to a god is the eating of the remnants of offerings made to him. This is called "taking the Mahāprasāda", *mahāprasāda sevana*, and no votary can forego it. But in the case of Śiva, this is forbidden. At all the great temples of Viṣṇu, Kālī, Durgā, and other gods and goddesses, the most important daily ceremony consists in offering large quantities of various articles of food, and subsequently distributing the same among the faithful ; and no image of a god is anywhere kept which has not its daily allowance of some choice food according to the means of its votaries. But Śiva has no such allowance assigned to him. With the exception of the presiding divinity of the great temple at Bhuvaneśvara and of two or three others, no image of Śiva, not even the idol in the celebrated fane of Benares, has anything like a large supply of sweetmeats, and rarely any cooked food [13] served to it, and even the most orthodox Śivite thinks it positively sinful to eat of food offered to this divinity. The prohibition occurs in the *Bahvṛca Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*, and it runs thus : "Leaves, flowers, fruits, and water, become unfit to be eaten after being offered to Śiva : but they become pure after being brought into contact with an ammonite stone, *Śālagrāma*". [14] The Purāṇas, as also the Smṛti digests and the Tantras, have

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10. *Essays on the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, I. p. 188.
11. They include the Daṇḍis, the Daśnāmis, the Jogis, the Jaṅgamas, the Paramahaṃsas, the Aghoris, Urddhvabāhus, the Ākāśamukhis, the Nakhis, the Gudaras, the Rukharas, the Sukharas, the Ukharas, the Kaḍāliṅgis, the Sannyāsis, the Bramacāris, the Avadhūtas, and the Nāgās. For detailed descriptions of these, *vide* Wilson's *Hindu Sects*, Essays, I. p 188, *et seq.*
12. *Essays on the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, I. p. 189.
13. *Paramānna* is given in small quantities.
14. agrāhyaṃ Śivanaivedyaṃ patraṃ puṣpaṃ phalaṃ jalaṃ /
Śālagrāmaśilāsparśāt sarvaṃ yāti pavitratāṃ //
Bahvṛca Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa.
In the *Varāha Purāṇa* this Śloka occurs in a modified form, thus—
abhakṣyaṃ Śivanirmālyaṃ patraṃ puṣpaṃ phalaṃ jalaṃ
Śālagrāmaśilāyogāt pāvanaṃ tadbhavet sadā //

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quoted it largely ; and it is evident that it must be of very ancient date, otherwise the unanimity of the Hindus of all sects on the subject and the absence of offerings in the temples, would be unaccountable. But what is more to the point, Śākta and Śaiva Tantras, designed expressly for the glorification of the worship of Śiva, recognise the prohibition, and try to explain it away. Thus, in the *Liṅgārcana Tantra*, the great goddess Durgā is represented as very much troubled in mind as to why flowers and fruits offered to Śiva, instead of being sought for and prized as highly sacred by Brahmā and other gods, should be held positively impure ; and Śiva thereupon explains the mystery by saying that as the poison he had swallowed at the churning of the ocean was sticking in his throat, and ever since causing him much pain and suffering, food taken by him through his topmost mouth got tainted by it, and consequently became unfit for consumption by weak mortals. "The wretch who accepts for consumption remnants of such offerings, becomes consumed, and there is no redemption for him". He added, however, that flowers, leaves, &c., placed before him, i. e., before any of his side faces, could not be so tainted, and they are fit to be offered to Viṣṇu and carried about on the head. [15] The *Kṛṣṇa-janmakhaṇḍa* of the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* gives quite a different version of the affair. [**139**] According to it Rādhā is the questioner, and her lover Kṛṣṇa the interpreter, and the latter attributes the prohibition to a curse of Durgā. Once on a time Śaunaka had been on a visit to Kṛṣṇa at Goloka, and thence had brought away some choice food which had been presented to him by his host. This he distributed among his friends, and Śiva, obtaining a share, ate it, and was in an ecstasy of delight. When Durgā came to know of it, she upbraided him for not having given her a share. "Since", said she, "you have not given me a portion of the inestimable food of Viṣṇu, henceforward whoever will eat of food consecrated to thee, Maheśvara, shall be born a dog for one generation in the Bhāratavarṣa". Repenting afterwards of what she had said, she limited the curse to what was offered on the top of the *liṅgam*, and that too, she added, would

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The meaning however is substantially the same.

15. Devyuvāca / durlabhaṃ tava nirmālyaṃ brahmādīnāṃ kṛpānidhe /
tatkathaṃ parameśāna nirmālyaṃ tava dūṣitam //
īśvara uvāca / madhyasthānasthitaṃ yattu tanmukhaṃ parameśvari /
śyāmalaṃ tattu īśānaṃ sadā ūrdhvaṃ śucismite //
kālāgnirūpiṇaṃ tattu sarvaśaktimayaṃ sadā /
tejomayaṃ maheśāni mukhamūrdhvaṃ varānane //
kṣīrodamathane devi utthitaṃ garalaṃ mahat /
tataḥ karatalīkṛtya tadviṣaṃ parameśvari //
nipītaṃ tadviṣaṃ sūkṣmaṃ tīkṣṇaṃ brahmāṇḍanāśanam /
tadviṣaṃ kaṇṭhadeśe tu sthitaṃhi sarvadā mama //
tataḥ prabhṛti deveśi mukhaṃ jvālayate sadā /
patraṃ vā yadi vā puṣpaṃ phalaṃ vā varavarṇini //

In practice the prohibition is respected in the way it is explained in this extract. See also the 13th and the 14th *Paṭalas* of the above extract.

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become pure on being mixed with the remnants of offerings made to Viṣṇu.[16] Ingenious as these explanations doubtless are, they cannot suffice to remove the suspicion, that Śiva was originally a god of the aborigines, and that the Hindus first hated him, then became indifferent, then tolerated him, and lastly, accepted him, as a great god; but, particular as they always have been regarding the use of food touched by the aboriginal races, the original repugnance to taste of food offered to the god by low caste people could not be got over, or at least the memory of it lasted so long that an explanation or reconciliation was called for.

Fifth objection : The prohibition to build temples for Śiva within the boundary of a town or village, can be looked upon only as a counterpart of the law which excludes Pariahs, Caṇḍālas and other low castes from the right of dwelling in a town or village inhabited by the higher orders of the Aryan race ; and if so, it must follow that the divinity belonged to the low caste people, or the aboriginal races, and not to the Aryans. Doubtless the prohibition has long since ceased to be effective, and there is not a single town throughout the length and breadth of India, which, being largely inhabited by the Hindus, has, if not several, at least one Śivite temple of importance, but the memory of the prohibition implies that at one time or other such temples were looked upon with disfavour.

Sixth objection : The principal worshipper of Śiva were either avowed heretics, or men who had lost their character among the people for the impious lives they led. Rāvaṇa was a Rākṣasa, or cannibal, who rose to power of the highest order by his devotion to Śiva. Bāṇa was an Asura, or demon, who thrived by the blessing of the same divinity. Jarāsandha was a great tyrant, who kept thousands of Hindu Rājās in confinement, and led a most infamous life ; he was a favourite of several great non-Aryan chiefs whom the Brāhmans took great pains to put down, and he also owned allegiance to Śiva, and to Śiva only. The Nāgas, who were of a Tamulian race, and more or less inimical to the Brāhmanical orders, were adorers of that god ; and most of the other aboriginal races likewise did, still do, follow that divinity. While on the other hand no distinguished Aryan chief ever selected Śiva for his tutelary god. This would scarcely have happened had Śiva originally belonged to the Hindu Pantheon.

Seventh objection : The next exception taken to Śiva's Aryan-hood is due to the shape in which he is worshipped—an uncarved or rudely carved block, such as a rude primitive race, like the ancestors of the present Kols and Bhīls, might alone accept as the emblem of the godhead. The Aryans, familiar with the ritual of the Vedas in which no images are tolerated, could not themselves design it, much less identify it with so disgusting an object as the *liṅgam*. Certain it is that they have often felt shocked at the idea, but unable to denounce the divinity of Śiva, tried to explain it away. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* attempts it in this wise : When Śiva was influenced by Cupid, he roamed about naked, and in an amatory mood in the Dāruvaṇa forest, where dwelt a number

16. yato na dattaṃ naivedyaṃ *et seq* pavitraṃ hi bhavet tattu viṣṇornaivedyamiśritam // *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, Chapter XXXVII.

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of [140] sages with their families. He asked alms of the sages, but they averted their faces, ashamed to look at his nude figure. He then turned towards their huts, and saw the wives of Bhārgava, Aṅgirasa, Ātreya, &c, and they were at once overcome by his charming appearance, and induced to follow him to the neglect of their household duties. The sages, perceiving this, cursed him, so that the member of his body dropped off. Śiva immediately disappeared ; but the fall of the member of his body caused a fearful commotion, and the earth shook repeatedly, showing threatening signs of immediate destruction ; all creation trembled with fear ; and the sages, in trepidation, sought the advice of Brahmā. That great divinity was, however, neither able to expound the cause of the misadventure, nor devise a remedy to prevent the destruction of the earth. He sought, therefore, the abode of Śiva in the company of Viṣṇu, and besought his aid. The advice he got was to adore the dislocated member ; and this was accordingly done, and the earth was saved. Brahmā, thereupon, ordained that all the four orders of mankind should for all time come to worship it. Several *ṛṣis* subsequently laid down elaborate rules founded upon this ordinance, and the worship became general. Among the last is named the sage Kundodara who was by birth a Śūdra. [17] Elsewhere the Purāṇa repeats the story, but with some variations. The *ṛṣis* are said to have been the Bālakhilyas, and the instrument of dismemberment their staves and brickbats, instead of a curse, although the latter is undoubtedly the most potent in Brāhmanical estimation. Viṣṇu is also excluded from the deputation.

The author of the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Padma Purāṇa* was, however, not satisfied with the above story, and so he devised another. According to him, once on a time the renowned sage Bhṛgu repaired to Kailāsa on a visit to Mahādeva ; but he was not allowed admission to the palace by Nandī, the warder, on the plea that his master was then in the company of his wife and not at leisure to receive him. The sage tarried long at the gate, but to no avail, and at last, losing all patience, cursed the god saying : "Despicable and deluded is Śaṅkara who fails to recognise me ; and inasmuch as he has, stupefied by the society of women, insulted me, his form shall be that of the *yoni* and the *liṅgam*. Overcome by delusion as he recognises not me, a Brāhman, he ceases to be a Brāhman, and shall henceforward be unfit to be worshipped by the twice-born classes. Therefore [141] shall no water or rice or other offerings be made to him. Rice, water, leaves, flowers and fruits offered to Śiva, and remnants of offerings to him, shall doubtless be unfit to be received (by mankind)". Having thus cursed Śaṅkara, the adorer of mankind, the mighty sage addressed Nandī, the fierce trident-holder of the Gaṇa race : "Those who in this world become worshippers of Rudra, and bear on their persons ashes, bones, or emblems of the *liṅgam*, are heretic impostors excluded from the dispensation of the Vedas". [18]

17. tatrāpi gatvā madano dadarśa vṛṣaketanaṃ *et seq* liṅgaṃ citravane sūkṣmaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya cacāra ha : *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Chapter VI.
18. Dilīpa uvāca / vedmi so'haṃ *et seq*. jagāma brahmalokaṃ vai sarvalokanamaskṛtam // *Pādmottarakhaṇḍa*, Chapter LXXVIII.

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Eighth objection : The Purāṇas, both Śākta and Vaiṣṇavite, dilate largely on the disreputable character of Śiva. His favourite haunts are burning grounds and deserted places. He goes about naked, or dressed in a tiger skin, with snakes for garlands and ashes for cosmetics. His matted hair bespeaks a barbarian. His vehicle is a bull, and his attendants ghosts and goblins. By temper, most irascible, he is unsociable on account of being constantly stupefied with Indian hemp and *dhuturā* seeds. Hence the Devas often evinced great repugnance to associate with him, and, on one occasion, formally excluded him from the royal feast of Dakṣa. This can be only accounted for by supposing that the god was a stranger to the great body of the Aryan Devas, and not fitted by his character to enter into their brotherhood.

Reply to the first objection : The replies usually given to these objections, are, in Hindu estimation, entirely satisfactory, and even to Europeans will appear not without considerable weight, at least in some instances. The first argument founded on Vedic denunciation, having been explained away by the oldest commentator, Yāska, cannot fairly be now revived, particularly as some of the names of Śiva, such as Rudra, Mahādeva Bhava, &c., are mentioned in the Vedas as those of one of the great gods.

Reply to the second objection : The second argument may be met by opposing the ordinance of Manu against that of Vaśiṣṭha. Manu says, "Śambhu (Śiva) is the god of the Brāhmans ; Mādhava, (Viṣṇu) of the Kṣatriyas ; Brahmā of the Vaiśyas, and Gaṇeśa of the Śūdras" ; [19] and inasmuch as of all Smṛtis, the *Saṃhitā* of Manu is the most authoritative, it should override the work of Vaśiṣṭha. It is true that this verse is said to occur in *Vṛhad Manu*, and not in the current compilation, but its authenticity has not been questioned by the Hindus. The Purāṇic denunciations on the subject are obviously founded on sectarian jealousy, and the *Bhāgavata* may be opposed to the *Śiva*, *Liṅga* and other Śivite Purāṇas.

Reply to the third objection : The argument founded on the numerical inferiority of the Śaivas, is of little moment, inasmuch as it cannot necessarily lead to the conclusion that Śivaism is recent, and only recently gaining ground. On the one hand there are ample evidences in the Hindu Śāstras to show that it prevailed several centuries before the Christian era ; and on the other, equally undoubted proofs may be adduced to show that Caitanya and his followers have, in later times, converted a great number of the worshippers of Śiva to adopt the Vaiṣṇava creed. In a country like India, where so many diverse forms of creeds and sects prevail, it is but natural to suppose that the relative proportions of the different classes of sectaries must constantly vary ; but that cannot be an index to the origin of any particular form of worship. The number of Hindus in Kāśmīr is now very small, but that will not justify the supposition that Hinduism was not at one time the religion of its inhabitants.

Reply to the fourth objection : The reply to the argument founded on the aversion on the part of the Hindus to taste of the offerings made to Śiva, may be met

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19. Viprāṇāṃ daivataṃ śambhuḥ kṣatriyāṇāṃ tu mādhavaḥ /
vaiśyānāṃ tu bhavedbrahmā śūdrāṇāṃ gaṇanāyakaḥ //

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with in the anxiety, so strongly evinced in all the later Hindu Sāstras, to raise the status of the Brāhmans above even that of the greatest of gods. A Brāhman's curse is infallible, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, and others, bow to it with the profoundest veneration. Viṣṇu once submitted to a kick from a Brāhman, and as an emblem of his veneration for his assailant is described to have ever since borne the mark [142] of it on his chest ; and if nevertheless, he is a Hindu divinity of high rank, Śiva may well preserve his position in the Indo-Aryan pantheon even after a Brāhman's imprecation on the character of offerings made to him.

Reply to the fifth objection : This objection is by no means a weighty one. The Śivites may well say that aesthetic considerations may have had much to do with it than religion ; certain it is that in no part of India are Śivite temples excluded from the precincts of towns and villages. In Benares, scores if not hundreds, of such fanes stud every part of the town. At Bhuvaneśvara, the palace of Lalāṭendra Keśarī stood in close proximity to the Great Tower. The most remarkable fane in the heart of Ujjayinī, in the time of Vikramāditya, was the temple of Mahākāla, a form of Śiva ; and Kālidāsa calls special attention of the Cloud Messenger to visit it in his way to Kailāsa. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Hindu city which has not more than one Śivite temple within its boundary.

Reply to the six objection : The reply usually given to the sixth objection is, that Śiva is described in all the Śāstras as a god most inordinately attached to his votaries ; that, however sinful a man may be, he can always secure the grace of that divinity by his devotion ; and that the amount of devotion necessary to secure his grace, is much less than what is required for the mercy of the other gods. To indicate this peculiar character of Śiva, he is named Āśutoṣa or "the easily gratified" : and many are the stories told of the facility with which people obtained his favour by the performance of acts which can hardly be described as devotional. One of them is worthy of note. A hunter of a low caste once happened to be benighted in a forest, and failing to find his way home, mounted a *bel* tree to pass the night there. He had no food during the day, and his couch for the night was a thorny one, away from home and family, and tears were the only resource by which he could relieve himself of his painful feelings, and he shed them in abundance. One of them dropping on a ripe *bel* leaf hastened its fall, and brought it down on the head of an image of Śiva which happened to stand near the root of the tree. This so gratified Śiva, that he made himself manifest to the hunter, and showered blessings on him for his involuntary devotion. [20] Such a divinity, say the Śivites, cannot but be easily secured by people not usually particular in the observance of the mandates of religion. To the faithful this is a complete vindication ; but it may be added that the anti-Vedic people

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20. The night when this happened was the 14th of the wane in the month of Phālguna, and it has ever since been held sacred, and no good Hindu will allow it to pass without fasting and offerings to Śiva. The Government offices in Bengal are closed on this day, to enable the people to observe this fast.

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described in the Śāstras are generally those who were opposed to Viṣṇu and his followers, and the stories, therefore, may be accepted to represent in allegory the antagonism of the two rival sects of Śivites and Vaiṣṇavites, both Hindus, and not the rivalry of the aborigines and the Aryans.

Reply to the seventh objection : The seventh objection refers to the shape of the divinity. This, however, involves the quesition of phallic worship in ancient times. All the ancient nations of the earth regarded with awe the mystery of generation, and founded on it various myths and forms of religion, some looking upon it as the source of all evil ; others as the fountain of existence and blessing. The finest and most perfect allegory extant of the first class, is the Mosaic account of the fall of man. To the philosophic enquirer, this account means nothing more or less than that sin entered this world through the carnal desires of our first parents ; but it is so complete in all its parts, and so beautifully developed, that even the most fastidious critic fails to detect the smallest trace of anything offensive or indelicate in it. The tree, the apple, the serpent [21] are all well-known and generally-acknowledged phallic emblems among the followers of sexual forms of religion ; but they have been so artistically put together in the account in question, that they do not at first sight convey any improper idea. The Zoroastrian Aryans adopted the doctrine, and a counterpart of the Jewish account of the fall is given in the *Banduheṣ*, but in a form that has nothing of the charm of the Mosaic record. We are there told that "Meschia and Meschiané, the first man and woman, were seduced by Ahriman under the form of a serpent, and they then committed in thought, word, and action the carnal sin, and thus tainted with original sin all their descendants." [22] On the other hand the Semites and the Turanians looked upon it with feelings of veneration, and gave great prominence to sexual ideas. The Semites indulged in the idea very largely, and Egypt was its stronghold for a long period. All the Egyptian gods had their feminine counterparts, and the emblems of their faith were mostly of a sexual character. "There is reason to believe," says Inman, 'that the Vedic, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, and the Christian, were pure in their conception of the Almighty and of man's duty in this world. Some faiths seem to have been founded, we may say, upon the complete abnegation of all bodily propensities ; and amongst the Buddhist, Essenes, Christians, and others, the absolute celibacy of both sexes was regarded as the highest act and fruit of "a [143] saving faith." [23] This was, however, but temporary, for at one time or another the sexual theory got a footing in almost all ancient forms of religion, and it is difficult to notice a cult of former times in which traces of it may not be noticed. The early Aryans were free from it, and in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* the gods are described mostly without reference to their wives ; but this was only for a time, for

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21. It is a popular belief in Bengal that a woman dreaming of a serpent at night is soon after blessed with a child.
22. Lajard, *le Culte de Mithra. Apud Journal,* Anthropological Society, No. II. October 1870, p. 202.
23. Inman's *Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names,* II. p. 473.

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in the age of the Brāhmanas, the domestic relations and ties of the Devas were fully developed, and the Hellenes carried the remembrance of them to people Olympus with a goodly host of male and female divinities. The cult of Priapus was the issue of this sexual anthropomorphism among the gods. Even that purest form of revealed religion, Christianity, was not able, in the early part of its history, to prevent the Gnostics and others, to import into it a variety of phallic symbols and observances, and there are not persons wanting who look even upon the cross and spires of churches as phallic emblems. Among the Indo-Aryans, the dogma of the oviparous genesis of the universe necessitated a feminine agency, and it opened the way to the cult of the *liṅgam* and *Yoni*. And even as in this cult "the phallus has been regarded as an emblem of the Creator, so the bull, the ram, the serpent, the torch, fire, the thyrsus, the sceptre, the caduceus, the knobbed stick, the crosier, the letter **T**, the cross, tall trees, upright stones, or stumps, spires, towers, minarets, poles, spears, arrows, swords, bows, clubs, and a vast variety of other emblems have been employed as symbolic of the phallus. Again, as this organ represented the Creator and the sun, all were typified under such characters, as Bacchus, Dionysius, Hercules, Hermes, Mahādeva, Śiva, Osiris, Jupiter, Molech, Baal, Ashur, and innumerable others". [24] Most of the emblems here noticed are associated with Śiva. The bull, the type of fecundity, is his vehicle, the three pronged staff is his arm, and the serpent his ornament. Universally his image is the upright stone, dressed or undressed, and from the Island of Java to the furthest limit of Scandinavia, there is not a country where these uprights do not testify to the once prevalent currency of Śiva's worship in some form or other over a large tract of the earth. But there is nothing in all this necessarily to lead to the conclusion that Śivaism was non-Aryan, borrowed from the aborigines of India, and not self-evolved as the legitimate sequence of the oviparious theory of genesis, or of some other diseased forms of philosophical dogmatism.

Reply to the eight objection : Little need be said in reply to the last objection. It would not be logical to argue that the character of a god must necessarily be dependent on the social condition of his worshippers, and that his attributes are inevitably the reflex of those of the latter. Such a line of argument, if carried to its legitimate conclusion, would lead to such absurdities that few will care to accept it. Śiva's character is doubtless not a refined one. But there is nothing in it to make him inevitably the creation of an aboriginal myth. The poetical requirements of a good myth may be supplied, and is more likely to be better supplied by a cultivated Aryan mind than by a barbarian, and there is nothing to show that the Aryan civilization was such as could not tolerate such a god. None will assign to the Hindus a higher intellectual status than what was occupied by those who followed the cult of Priapus, and, therefore, there is nothing *a priori* to make the conception of Śiva impossible in the case of the Aryan people of this country.

Relation of Siva to Rudra : It may be argued further that Śiva (by which term I mean the divinity of the *liṅga* form of worship, for the term itself means

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24. Inman, *Op. cit.*, II. 476.

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"blessing" or "the blessed"), is in the Hindu Sāstras identified with the Rudra of the Vedas, and if that be admitted the origin of the *liṅgam* may be indirectly assigned to the oldest source of Aryan Hinduism. This is a most important topic in connexion with the history of Śivaism, and it will, perhaps, not be inopportune to enquire here, how far the identification is sustainable.

The myth of Rudra : The Vedic conception of Rudra is that of a fierce divinity, typifying all that is terrible. All the other leading gods are personifications of the elements, of natural objects, and of physical phenomena. Indra rules the clouds and the thunder-bolt. Vāyu is the regent of the wind, and Varuṇa exercises dominion over the sea. Savitā is the presiding divinity of the sun, and Soma of the moon. Rudra, however, has no such firm substratum to rest upon. He has no control over the elements, and all physical phenomena are independent of him. In him we behold, not the spiritual essence of a concrete object, but the ideal embodiment of all that is frightful and terrible. He has no command over the air ; but he lives in whirlwinds and cyclones, and is the father of the Maruts. He is not the master of the thunder-bolt ; but the roar of that dread weapon of Indra is a manifestation of his wrath. The mountains owe him no allegiance ; but his abode is the snow-capped peak shooting far above the highest clouds, and threatening instant death to all living beings. He is tawny-coloured and of fierce aspect ; strong and impetuous. His hair is matted, and his person is draped with a tiger-skin, girdled with fierce and hissing serpents. Fiery and vigorous, there is [144] nothing more powerful than he. Malevolent by nature, he is "like a terrible wild beast". His weapons are sharp, and his bolts are piercing. "He is swift, and fleet, and speedy". "He dwells in billows and in roaring waters, in rivers and islands," in pathways and roads, in hollows and sides of mountains, in water-courses and rivers, "in barren land and inaccessible places". Nothing in creation is a more certain destroyer. "He kills in front, and from afar", the dire "slayer and vexer, and afflictor". In him robbers find their chosen lord, and huntsmen with ravenous dogs their patron.[25] With ghosts and imps , and goblins for boon companions, and armed with a thousand shafts, he roams the earth to the dire consternation of all. In short, he is all that is fierce and terrible, all that is frightful and appalling, all that is awe-inspring and heart-quaking ; or, in other words, the personification of the terrible in nature,—a unification of the presiding divinities, or spiritual essences, of various objects which excited the dread of a simple people, and which at an earlier period were looked upon as so many different divinities.

The birth of this divinity is thus described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Yajurveda* : "This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmi*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*pṛthivī*). On this foundation, beings, and lords of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Uṣas was his wife. Now these 'beings' were the seasons. That

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25. Most of the epithets above given, have been taken from Dr. Muir's translations of extracts from the Vedas bearing on Rudra. *Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 274, *et seq.*

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'lord of beings' was the year. That wife Uṣas was Auṣasī (the daughter of the dawn). Then both those beings, and the lord of beings, the year, impregnated Uṣas, and a boy (*Kumāra*) was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, "Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity" ? The boy said, "My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me : give me a name". Wherefore when a son is born (to any man) let a name be given to him, that takes away his sin ; and (let) also a second and third (name be given to him in succession that takes away his sin). Prajāpati said to him, "Thou art Rudra". Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra, because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, to weep). The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati replied, "Thou art Sarva" (all). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his from, for the waters are Sarva, because all this is produced from the waters. The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati replied, "Thou art Paṣupati" (lord of animated beings). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the plants became his form, for the plants are Paśupati Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong ?). The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exit : give me a name". Prajāpati said to him, "Thou art Ugra" (the fierce one). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the fierce). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men, say, "Ugra blows". The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati said to him, "Thou art Aśani" (thunderbolt). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati said to him. "Thou art Bhava" (creation). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form, for Parjanya is Bhava ; because all this (universe) arises from Parjanya. The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati replied, "Thou art Mahādeva" (the Great god). Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Candramas (the moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the moon, Prajāpati is the great god. The boy said, "I am greater than one who does not exist : give me a name". Prajāpati replied, "Thou art Īśana" (the ruler). Inasmuch as he gave that name, Āditya (the sun) became his form. For the sun is Īśana, because he rules (*iṣṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, "I am so much ; do not give me any further names". These are the eight, Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛtta*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the Gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, Agni pertains to the Gāyatrī. This boy (*Kumāra*) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy, it is these forms of his that they see, for he entered into these forms". [26]

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26. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 284. In one of the Purāṇas a version of this story occurs, in connexion with the birth of Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva.

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Rudra as a destroyer : In this passage Rudra is identified primarily with Agni, and secondly with all the principal objects of nature ; his principal names are also recounted. The story is repeated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, where the name Aśani is replaced by Bhīma, and a slightly different version of it is to be found in the *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa.* [27] The character of Rudra as a destroyer, is however, not brought out in any of these stories, and for it I must quote another passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in which he is painted in that light, though it does not go to [145] the extent of assigning to him the role of the destroyer of the universe at statedtimes. It runs thus : "From Prajāpati, when he had become divided, the deities sprang forth. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him. but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became a Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras, because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, holding arrows, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. They said to Prajāpati, we are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us. They collected for him this food, the *Śatarudrīya*, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased". [28]

The word *manyu* means wrath, and the divinity is, therefore, the personification of wrath. Wrath is essentially one of the frightful aspects of nature, and the association, therefore, is most appropriate. For a perfect myth, it was necessary that all the elements calculated to excite the feeling of the terrible should be put together, and this has been accomplished in the conception of Rudra. The transition from fierceness and wrath to the type of the great destroyer which Śiva assumes as the third member of the Hindu triad of the creator, the preserver, and destroyer, was easy, and we find it so completed in the Purāṇas.

Rudra identified with the Lingam : With this development of Rudra as the destroyer, a new idea was associated with him, that of the male principle in nature, or the source of creation, which the *Liṅgam* symbolizes. The two ideas are distinct, and in many respects highly discordant ; the one typifies attraction, the other repulsion ; the one invokes love and affection, the other hatred ; the one is founded on the desire of creation, the other of destruction ; and their concentration in the same individual is irreconcilable with all principles of poetical logic which governs the formation of myths; and it is difficult to conceive how it was brought about. The extracts quoted above show that the Purāṇas do not attempt to fuse the two ideas into one, but, simply assign to Rudra, the destroyer, a disgusting symbol as the result of an accident. They say nothing about the idea of the creative principle being associated with it. The Tantras are not so reticent ; they not only acknowledge the esoteric meaning of the symbol, but insist upon it for the glorification of the divinity. They have not, however, as far as

27. Muir's *Op. cit.* p. 288. 28. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 291.

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I am aware of, anywhere attempted to reconcile the conflict between the two ideas. The Tantras are much more recent than the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, and this fact at once shows that the new role of Rudra was an after-thought, adopted at a time when his original charater had lost its vividness by age, and had become susceptible of modification, or amplification, without causing any shock to the feelings of the people. When this was first attempted, it is impossible now to determine. The influence of the phallic idea on the religious systems of the Semitic and the Turanian races was predominant from a very early age. In the cults of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, it was all-pervading, and it seems to have passed from some one of them to Europe, and found a footing among the early Aryan races of that continent. The myth of Rudra got currency among them some little time after, and its trace still exists in the names of various places, such as Rhoden, Rhodenacher, Rodenburg, Rottenfel, Rhode, Rolte, and Rathburg, in Germany, Rutland and Ruthwel, and Ruthin, in England ; Rot, Rotholet, and Rotnoe, in Norway. The Colossus of Rhodes was probably no other than a gigantic figure of that Rudra.[29] As in India, so in Scandinavia, Rudra is the chief of storms ; but here he drives a swift-moving car through mid-air, while in Europe he rides "a furious horse flying across the sky, with a grand cortege behind him". In an old catalogue of Pagan antiquities, he occurs in the form of a *Liṅgam*, and is described as a "Rot", and some Pagan families, before the introduction of Christianity in Norway, are said to have "worshipped the *Liṅgam* of a horse preserved in a glass case", (*ante* p. [66]). Here the union of Rudra with Priapus is intimate, and other instances could be easily multiplied, were the subject not so repulsive, to show that it was so united from long before the commencement of the Christian era. That the Vedas originally abhorred the phallic idea is evident, and that it was engrafted on the Vedic cult in later times is also undeniable ; but there is wanting that mass of irrefragable evidence which can prove unquestionably that the worship of the *Liṅgam* was taken from the aborigines of India. The Semites of the West and the Turanians of the North cherished the dogma very extensively, and much may be said in favour of the loan having proceeded from them and not from the original inhabitants of India. It may be even questioned whether or not it was evolved by the dreamy mystic sages of India in the course of their own cogitations. The assimilation of sensuous, worldly ideas with the divine has been the failing of mankind in most of its conceptions concerning the Godhead, and nothing is easier to conceive than a sexual origin of creation without any prompting save that of the individual mind, and that at a time of primitive, unsophisticated innocence, when the world was viewed from a very different standpoint to ours. The human mind, being essentially the [146] same everywhere, must lead, when set to any particular train of ideas, to very much the same result : ethnic and local causes may tinge it with race or local peculiarities, but its general character cannot but be alike. But whether borrowed or selfevolved, the worship of the *Liṅgam* had been incorporated

29. *Vide passim* Professor Holmboe's Essay, *Journal*, As. Soc. XXXVI. p. 182.

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with Hinduism long before the time when the Śivite temples of Orissa were raised, and there is no reason, therefore, to suppose any aboriginal influence in their erection.

Saktaism : It has been already said that in the earliest period of the Vedas, the gods were conceived, doubtless on anthropomorphic ideas, with their respective consorts ; but this was done without assigning to the ladies any divine rank corresponding with that of their lords. Agni, Vāyu, Indra and Sūrya came into being, and obtained their respective dominions, but their wives did not share with them their glory. The "three and thirty gods" of the earliest pantheon were all males, and they claimed the allegiance of the Aryans to themselves, and themselves only. Indrāṇī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and others are named in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, but not as objects of worship for the faithful. According to Dr. Muir, "excepting Pṛthivī, Aditi and Uṣas, most of the other goddesses mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* are of very little importance. Agnāyī, Varuṇānī, Aśvinī and Rodasī, the wives of Agni, Varuṇa, the Aśvins, and Rudra respctively (*Nirukta*, IX. 33 f ; XI. 50 ; XII. 46), are only alluded to in a few passages, RV. I. 22. 12 ; II. 32. 8 ; V. 46. 8 ; VI. 50. 5 ; VI. 66. 6 ; VII. 34. 22. No distinct functions are assigned to them and they do not occupy positions at all corresponding to the rank of their husbands, with whom in fact they are never associated. The insignificance of these goddesses forms a striking contrast to the prominent place assumed by the spouses of Śiva and Viṣṇu, especially the former in the later mythology."[30] In course of time, however, sensuous and mundane ideas prevailed, the necessity of providing the gods with becoming wives was gradually felt, and the heaven was peopled with a numerous host of goddesses, some of whom came to the front, and claimed the adoration of mankind like their lords. Umā was the foremost among these. Poetically or mythologically she was the embodiment of the beautiful in nature. Even as Rudra was the impersonation of the terrible aspect of the snow-capped peak, of the desert wild, of frantic wrath, of devastating storms, of all violent commotions, so was she the embodiment of all that was charming and lovely and beautiful in mountain scenery. To the Aryans of India, the Himālaya presented the most terrible aspect of nature, and Rudra, therefore, was its most appropriate lord, while the beauty of that king of mountains, for it is not without beauty of a highly ennobling character, yielded a fitting maiden and becoming bride for such a lord.

Uma, the mother of the universe : It is not, however, as the mountain-born goddess, the exemplary wife, the Satī *par excellence*, most ardent in her devotion to a terrific husband, that I wish to notice Umā in this place. Her name carries us back to a remote period in the history of man when it was synonymous with maternity, and was used to indicate the mother of the universe. *Ummāh, am, 'amone*, are terms of great antiquity. 'Am Astoreth' or 'Astoreth is her mother' is a name of a Carthaginian woman who is commemorated in Davis', *Carthaginian Inscriptions* (No. VII), as offering a vow to Tanith, or Anaita. A similar name is found on the Sidonian inscription as that of

30. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V. 345.

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the mother of Asman Azer, the king of Sidon." [31] It occurs in the most ancient Hebrew writings, and is equally old in Sanskrit, and, curiously enough, it has everywhere been used in some form or other to indicate the being who first conceived the universe within her, and who is variously designated the "celestial mother," "the mother of the universe," "the mother of the gods". "the spouse of God," "the queen of heaven" and so forth. If Umā herself does not find a place in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* in this character, her type is not wanting in it. Although the theory of creation through the fiat of the Deity is what obtains most favour with the *Ṛṣis*, still the idea of a feminine counterpart was not altogether foreign to them. The earliest germ of this idea occurs in a hymn in the last book of t' at work. There it is said, "that the divine spirit breathed without afflation, single with (Svadhā) her who is sustained within him ; other than him nothing existed. First desire was formed in his mind, and that became the original productive seed, (which) since (has been). Darkness there was ; (for) this universe was enveloped with darkness, and was undistinguishable (like fluids mixed in) waters : but that mass, which was covered by the husk, was (at length) produced by the power of contemplation. First desire was formed in his mind : and that became the original productive seed ; which the wife, recognising by the intellect in their hearts distinguish, in non-entity, as the bond of entity." [32] Purely mataphorical or allegorical as the idea here conveyed is, it soon assumed by literal interpretation a more substantive form ; thus in the *Sāmaveda* : "He felt not delight, being alone. He wished another, and instantly became such. He caused his own self to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife. He approached her, and thus were human beings produced." [33] The later [147] Vedas, namely, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, worked out the figurative language of the Saṃhitās, and developed various myths to establish the rank of this primary mother of creation, and Svadhā gradually passed into Umā, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī as consorts of the principal gods who took a share in the act of creation. Elsewhere we recognise her in Isis, Juno and Venus ; and "the mother of God" of the Mariolaters, is no other than she. The eight divine mothers (*Aṣṭamātṛkās*) of the Tantras are invariably represented, each with a child on her lap, and are the exact counterparts of the "Virgin and Child" of European art. Umā, the wife of Śiva, appears under various forms, as a virgin or a mother, as fair or dark, as lovely or fierce, according to the exigencies of the myths in which she acts the part of heroine. One of her manifestations was Kālī, a nude female of a black complexion, and for her counterparts we have Diana of the Ephesians, Isis, Hecate, Juno, Metes, Ceres, Cybele and Venus Melainis, all of whom were represented black. Nor did the mystical idea which led to the blackness of these divinities cease with them. "In the Cathedral at Moulins ; at the chapel at Loretto ; at the churches of the Annunciation,

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31. Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, II. 254.
32. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, VIII. p. 393. See in passing Max Müller's observations on this remarkable hymn in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 559, and Goldstücker's comments thereon in his *Pāṇini*, p. 146.
33. *Ibid.* VIII. p. 420.

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St. Lazars and St. Stephens, at Genoa ; of St. Francisco at Pisa ; at Brisen in the Tyrol, and in one in Padua ; in St. Theodore, at Munich ; in the Cathedral and the church at Augsburg ; in the Borghese chapel of Maria Maggiore ; in the Pantheon, and in a small chapel of St. Peter's, are to be seen (in Augsburg, as large as life) a black virgin and a black child".[34] In all this and in many other respects, there is a close analogy between the conception of Umā, the mother of the universe, and that of the Egyptian and of Grecian goddesses, as also that of the Gnostics, the Rosicrucians, Mariolaters and other mystics, whose influence on Christianity is still manifest in the traces they have left on the Roman Church ; and they lead to the inference that there has been an interchange of ideas on the subject at an early period.

Maya, Prakrti, Sakti : In Indian philosophical works, the concrete mother Umā passes into the abstract Māyā or delusion, i. e., the mystery by which the Great Spirit evolves the universe from within himself. The usual character assigned to that Spirit being a negation of all human faculties, wants and feelings, the mediation of Māyā became necessary to extricate the philosophers from the cocoon which they had woven around themselves. This Māyā then is the power which disturbs the calm repose of the Godhead, and excites him into action, and is, therefore, his energy or power, (*Śakti*), or his consort *Prakṛti*, or plastic nature. The Vedānta approves the term *Māyā* as it suits best its nondualistic dogma. The materialistic Sāṃkhya prefers *Prakṛti* or plastic nature as most consonant with its mode of exposition of the mystery of creation ; and Śakti finds the greatest prominence in the Tantras as in accord with a purely anthropomorphic theory. The Purāṇas adopt these terms at option according to their particular leaning, some giving prominence to Māyā, some to Prakṛti, and some to Śakṭi. They all, however, accept the three words as synonymous. Thus, Umā is the same with Māyā, Śakti and Prakṛti of the Hindus, and with "Io, Isis, Astarte Ishtar, Mylitta, Sara, Maia, Mary, Meriam, Juno, Venus, Diana, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera, Rhea, Cybele, Ceres, Eve, Frea, Frigga," &c, of other nations, everywhere representing the female principle in creation.[35] She is equal to the Godhead, because creation cannot be accomplished without her, and she is greater than God, because, she sets him into action. "Śakti gives strength to Śiva ; without her he could not stir a straw. She is, therefore, the cause of Śiva."[36] Again, "of the two objects which are eternal the greater is the Śakti."[37] Mysticism revelled in these ideas, and developed them into a variety of forms. By herself Umā is a maiden or mother ; united with the Godhead, she produces the androgynous figure of Ardhanārīśvara, the left half of a female joined along the mesian line to the right half of a male figure. Now, Rudra having been identified with the male principle, she necessarily becomes his wife, and as a symbol of the former is the *Liṅgam*,

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34. Inman, *Op. cit.* II. 263.
35. *Vide passim.* King's *Gnostics*, and Jenning's *Rosicrucians.*
36. śaktiḥ śivasya balakāriṇī tayā vinā tasya tṛṇacalanakriyāyāmasamarthatvāt / ataḥ śaktireva śivasya kāraṇam. *Śaṅkara Vijaya.*
37. nityapadārthayormadhye śakteradhikatvam // *Śaṅkara Vijaya.*

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that of the latter is *Yoni*, which appears in art, as the crescent, the star, "the circle, the oval, the triangle, the door, the ark, the sheep, the fish, the charm, the cave," various fruits, trees, and a host of other forms alike among the Hindus, the Egyptians and the mystics of Europe. The union of these symbols with those of the male principle, produces the innumerable cabalistic symbols, talismans, amulets and mystical diagrams, which have deluded mankind for ages, and still occupy so prominent a place in the history of religion. The *Liṅgam* and the *Yoni* united is the form in which Śiva appears most frequently in India, and is best known in our temples. It should be noticed however, that in the more ancient temples, the "upright" [38] or the emblem of the male principle is alone met with. In the great temple of Benares, it occurs to the entire exclusion of the modern symbol of the *Liṅgam* and the *Yoni* united into one.

[148] **Classification of Sakti** : The theory of Śakti having once been fully established, all the sectaries adopted it to indicate the spouses of their different divinities, and various classifications were adopted for ranging the female divinities into full manifestations (*MūlaPrakṛti* or *Pūrṇaśakti*), manifestations in portions (*Aṅśarūpiṇī*) in parts (*Kalārūpiṇī*), in portions of parts (*Kalāṅśarūpiṇī*), &c., &c. The minor sub-divisions include mortal women, and they are accordingly adored as manifestations of the divine mother on earth. This has resulted in several dissolute and licentious systems of religion, in one of which a nude female of youthful age forms the central figure in a circle of mystic devotion. Among the Vaiṣṇavas, Rādhā was the *Mūla-Prakṛti*, and the other associates of Kṛṣṇa, her parts ; and among the Śaivas and the Śāktas, Umā or Durgā, was the *Pūrṇa Śakti*, and her various manifestations her parts, comprising more or less of her spirit or substance. Strictly speaking, this classification would justify the use of the term Śākta, to indicate all those who accept one or other of the female divinities as their tutelary goddess ; but in practice the word is confined to those only who follow Durgā and her different manifestations.

Sivaism and Saktism—how they flourished in Orissa : Founded upon the same sensuous, mundane idea of the influence of the sexes in the creation of the universe, it is but natural to suppose that Śivaism or the adoration of the male principle, and Śāktaism or the adoration of the female principle, should go hand in hand, and in books they do so ; but practically they seem to have flourished almost independently of each other in India. Śivaism commenced first, and when it did so, Śāktaism seems not to have been much cared for, or at least not to have given rise to a distinct cult, and the oldest monuments of Śiva, have very little of the Śākta about them. In Orissa, the great

38. Some are of opinion that the "uprights" are memorial monuments, and not emblems of gods. This theory, however, requires confirmation ; it is certain that this is not the case in the opinion of at least some of the aborigines of India. The most dreaded divinity of the Santāls is Morang Bura, a sanguinary god, represented by a huge, uncarved, upright stone, who had, until recently, to be propitiated with human sacrifices. The Santāls have their traditions regarding the part which this god took in the formation of the earth and the first human pair.

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seat of Sivaism was Bhuvaneśvara, and all the great temples there are consecrated to the *Liṅgam*, the emblem of the great god Mahādeva, an upright stone without the *Yoni* accompaniment. The princes of the Késari dynasty, who devoted themselves particluarly to this form of worship, wishing to produce a second Benares in the metropolis of their dominion,[39] confined their attention to Śiva or the upright stone as at Benares, and paid no attention to his consort. Śāktaism found its votaries at a later time in Orissa, and a separate locale was assigned for it at Jājapur; but judging from the remains now visible there, it seems never to have flourished near so well as Śivaism. In Bengal too, the Śākta followed long after Śivaism; and some of its more mysterious and grosser forms do not date earlier than twelve to fifteen hundred years; and when it came into vogue it seems to have induced even a large number of the old Śivite to betake to the new faith. This can be easily accounted for. There is a charm in mystery for the mass of mankind, whether it be in quack medicines or a religion of symbols, diagrams and talismans, which tells much more effectually, much more sweepingly, and much more completly than rational appeal to the understanding ever can do. It "takes the reason prisoner" all at once, and leaves little room for reflection to play its part in a healthy and independent way. Sexual religion, whether in the form of Śāktaism, or, that of the doctrines of the Gnostics, Rosicrucians and others, has this advantage to perfection. It requires a greater mass of mystery to envelope its coarse ideas than even what Śivaism needed or encouraged, and accordingly it succeeds in a most astounding manner, where the other falls to obtain a footing. Even the most rationalistic of all religionists, the Buddhists, could not resist its allurements, and between the fifth and eighth centuries, compiled and translated a huge mass of Tantras in the Tibetan language, and accepting the sexual doctrine, introduced the worship of several goddesses and degrading ideas of the divinity into Nepal and Tibet, as a part of the esoterics of the Buddhist religion.[40] Śāktaism in its grosser and repulsive forms of Kaula and Vāmācāra cults needs this even more extensively than Śivaism ever needed or encouraged, and consequently got far ahead of the latter. To prove this I cannot do better than quote Dr. Wilson's estimate of the relative proportions of the followers of the three leading sects of Bengal. "It has been computed", he says, "that of the Hindus of Bengal at least three-fourths are" Śāktas: "of the remaining fourth, three parts are Vaiṣṇavas, and one Śaivas".[41] This estimate may not be quite correct, and Ward, taking into consideration the fact that the bulk of the people in the eastern districts are Vaiṣṇavas, reckons the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal at one third of the whole Hindu population; but in either case the figures show very clearly the great preponderance of the Śāktas over the other sects. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering that the great body of the aboriginal races and the lower orders of the people, though not duly initiated in any Śakti *mantra*, pay their adoration principally to some form

39. *Vide infra.* Part II, chapter II.
40. *Vide passim* CSoma's *Analyses of the Gyut* in the *Asiatic Researches*, XX. p. 488 ff. and Hodgson's *Buddhism.*
41. Wilson's *Essays*, I. p. 240.

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or other, mostly to all the different forms, of Durgā, with scarcely any, or but slender, regard for Viṣṇu and his images, and must be included among the Śāktas. In Orissa the case is otherwise. At present, Jagannātha engrosses the attention of the bulk of the people there, and the number of Śaivas and Śāktas is extremely limited. Even at Jājapur, which at one time was a great seat of Śāktaism, whence its name *Virājpīṭha*, [149] the followers of the feminine divinity constitute but a very small section of the community. Perhaps, formerly the case was not so, and there is no doubt that during the reign of the Keśarī dynasty, the Śaivas greatly preponderated ; but the proselytizing zeal of Caitanya and his followers has long since brought the greater part of the people to follow their faith to the exclusion of all sexual forms of religion. As far as I have been able to ascertain Śāktas are now more common in Orissa than Śaivas, and the two together scarcely represent one-eight of the entire Hindu population of that province. Bābu Raṅgalāla Banerji, Deputy Magistrate of Cuttack, who has been in the district for a long time, and has made the subject of the different creeds prevailing there, his study, informs me that "there are scarcely any Śaivas in Orissa. The greater number of the Śāsana Brāhmaṇas are Vaiṣṇavas of the older, or Vaidika, form. All the other castes are generally Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya or Nityānanda *sampradāya*. There are fifty *maṇḍalas* of these Vaiṣṇavas in the city of Cuttack alone—each having a band of *saṅkīrtana* attached to it. They are under the primacy of the great Gossāin of Caitanya at Puri. The Tantras prevail on the Jājapur tract".

Vaisnavism : Unlike the two preceding forms of religion, Vaiṣṇavism has been intimately associated with Hinduism, and, indeed, has formed its chief feature from a very remote period of antiquity. In the absence of documentary evidence, it is impossible to prove satisfactorily that the name of Viṣṇu was known to the Aryans and revered by them in their primeval home in Central Asia, but there are reasons to suppose that it was, for it occurs in the Zoroastrian writings, showing that it had got into currency before the Indian and the Iranian branches of the Aryan race had parted from each other. In the earliest Veda, it appears perfectly well known, and in the later scriptures it occupies the most prominent position as an appellation of the Almighty. The Tantras and some of the Śaiva Purāṇas have, doubtless, given greater importance to Śiva and Durgā, but they have done so generally by identifying, or associating Viṣṇu with them, and not by denying the latter his supremacy. It should be added, however, that the cult of Viṣṇu has not been the same at all times, and the changes it has undergone at different times are so grave and radical, that it appears fundamentally different in its different forms. Its sects and sub-divisions are also very numerous. For purposes of history it may, however, be treated under five heads : 1st, Vaiṣṇavism of the Saṃhitās ; 2nd, that of the Brāhmaṇas ; 3rd, that of the time of Pāṇini and the Itihāsas ; 4th, that of the Purāṇas ; 5th, that of modern times.

Vaisnavism of the early Vedas : Although, as above stated, the name of Viṣṇu was well known as that of a great god in the Vedic times, and several hymns are dedicated to the praise of that divinity in the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*, his place in the celestial assembly is nowhere well defined. He has no sovereignty over any of the elements, nor is he the

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personification of any object or idea. His principal attributes are thus put together in one of the early hymns of that work : "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Viṣṇu strode through the seven regions of the earth. Viṣṇu strode over this (universe) ; in three places he planted his step ; (the world, or his, step, was) enveloped in his dust. Viṣṇu, unconquerable preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances. Behold the acts of Viṣṇu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived religious ceremonies. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Viṣṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful light up (by the power of their hymns ?) that which is the highest station of Viṣṇu".[42] This hymn is held in the highest veneration by the Brāhmaṇas, and is frequently muttered, or recited, at all the principal ceremonies enjoined in the Vedas. At Śrāddhas and marital and other rites of the present day, it constitutes the holiest *mantra* ; and seldom is a sacred fire lighted without its being brought to bear upon it. The most important elements of this hymn are the epithets and phrases which assign to Viṣṇu the attribute of one who "strode through the seven regions of the earth," who "planted his step three times," who "envelops the world with his dust," who "is fixed like an eye in the sky". Other attributes and functions, such as that of protection here noticed, or of creation of the heaven and the earth, of making of the atmosphere wide, of producing the sun and dawn, elsewhere assigned to him. (I. 154. 1-2) belong to him in common with the other gods ; but these are peculiar, and they afford a clue to his true character. The counterparts of the phrases, "the god who strode through the seven regions of the earth" and "who planted his steps three times," occur frequently, and in a variety of forms. Thus, Viṣṇu is described as "the swift goer," "the god of three strides," "the wide-stepping," "the large-pacing," "the swift-moving," "the strider of strides," "the occupier of three stations," "the god within whose three vast paces all the world abides," &c, &c. Commentators are not agreed as to the purport of these epithets. Yāska, in the *Nirukta*, quotes the opinions of two older expounders, one of whom, Śākapūṇi, "thought that the triple manifestation of the god, in the form of fire on the earth, of lightning in the atmosphere, [**150**] and of the solar light in the sky, was intended" by these epithets ; while the other, Aruṇavābha, took them to indicate "the different positions of the sun at his rising, his culmination, and his setting".[43] Sāyaṇa Ācārya explains them differently in different places, but he understands them to refer to the dwarf incarnation, in which Viṣṇu put one foot on the earth, another on the firmament and a third, according to some, on the heavens, and according to others, on the head of the Titan Bali, whom he defrauded of his sovereignty of the world to bestow it on Indra. Durgācārya, in his comment on the *Nirukta*, boldy asserts that the Viṣṇu indicated by the epithets was no other than the sun Āditya, whose different position in the sky at dawn, at midday, and at vesper, referred to by Aruṇavābha, were the three

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42. *Ṛgveda*. I. 22, 16, ff. *apud* Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 54. Wilson's version of this hymn is somewhat different. *Vide* his *Ṛgveda*, I. p. 50.
43. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 57.

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steps alluded to in the epithets. That this is the right interpretation is evident from the phrase used in the hymn which says the deity "is fixed like an eye in the sky". The expression, "who envelops the world with his dust," has been interpreted by Benfey in one place, to mean, "the earth was subject to him," and in another place, that "the god is so mighty that the dust which his tread raises, fills the whole earth". But Dr. Muir asks, "Can this dust be understood of the dazzling brightness of the sun's rays, surrounding his progress, and obscuring his disk from the view of the observer ? The prophet Nahum says, i. 3, "The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and *the clouds are the dust of his feet*".[44] Sāyaṇa sets it down to light, and that the rays of the sun are likened to dust, may be accepted as the true meaning by reference to a verse in the Seventh Book, in which Viṣṇu is said to have "enveloped the earth on every side with beams of light". (VII. 99. 3)

This identification of Viṣṇu with the sun may be supported by a variety of arguments. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* he is expressly described to be Āditya : "He who is this Viṣṇu is sacrifice ; he who (is) this sacrifice is the Āditya". (XIX. 1. 1-6.) In the same way he is identified with Agni, who is the terrene manifestation of the celestial orb. His name is derived from the root *viś* to pervade, i, e., the god who pervades the universe with his light. He is said to have set time in motion. "He has set in motion, like a rolling wheel, the revolutions of time (?) with four times ninety names (days)" (R V. I. 155. 6), which can be strictly applied to no other than the sun, who makes the four times ninety, or three hundred and sixty days of the year. Elsewhere he is said to "traverse the world," and "traverse it three times," to "thrice measure the mundane regions," all referring to the apparent diurnal motion of the sun. Again, the Brāhmaṇas reckon twelve Ādityas, sons of Aditi, by Dakṣa ; and the last of these is named Viṣṇu in the *Mahābhārata* and other later works. The *Harivaṅśa*, not to detract from the rank of Viṣṇu, says, that "though he is the last born, he is not the last," and the *Mahābhārata* elsewhere adds, "though the latest born, he surpasses all the Ādityas in his attributes." (I. 2. 519 ; 2. 522.) The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, in the same way. Viṣṇu, "calls the greatest," *Viṣṇuḥ Paramaḥ*. Haug is not satisfied that the word *paramaḥ* in this verse is indicative of the celestial rank of Viṣṇu.[45] He takes it to imply the position of Viṣṇu, the sun, high in the sky in comparison to that of Agni, who is said to be lowest (*Agniravamaḥ*), because he is the god of the earth. But interpreted with the help of the *Mahābhārata*, there is nothing inconsistent in the attribution of the epithet in the sense of the greatest to Viṣṇu.

Objections to the identification of Viṣnu with Aditya considered : It has to be admitted that Viṣṇu is not noticed among the Ādityas in the *Ṛgveda* hymns, but there, only seven or eight Ādityas are named, and Viṣṇu, as the last of the twelve, could not expect to find a place among the earlier ones. In the same way, where in the *Mahābhārata* only eleven suns are named, Viṣṇu is excluded, he being the twelfth.

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44. *Idem*, IV. p. 55.
45. Haug's *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II. p. 1.

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Exception might also be taken to the identification of Viṣṇu with the sun, the greatest god of the Aryans, on the ground of his having been made the theme of a very few hymns only. Dr. Muir, after quoting or referring to nearly all the hymns of the *Ṛksaṃhitā* says, "It is also a fact notorious to all the students of the *Ṛgveda*, that the hymns and verses which are dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Maruts the Aśvins &c, are extremely numerous ; whilst the entire hymns and separate verses in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer. . . . . The reader will also have noticed that, in a large number of shorter passages which I havd cited, Viṣṇu is introduced as the subject of laudation among a great crowd of other divinities from whom he is there in no way distinguished as being in any respect superior. . From this fact we may conclude that he was regarded by those writers as on a footing of equality with the other deities". [46] These objections do not, however, stand much in the way of the identification. It is universally admitted that Mitra and Pūṣan are names of the sun, and since their identity is by no means invalidated by the fact of the entire hymns and separate verses dedicated to Mitra and Pūṣan being comparatively limited, the same may very fairly be said in the case of Viṣṇu. If Viṣṇu be, as he is here assumed to be, but another personification of the sun, every hymn, whether addressed [151] to Sūrya, Āditya, Mitra, or Pūṣan, is *ipso facto* addressed to him, and it would not be reasonable to expect that the number of hymns or verses on account of each name should bear a fair proportion to the others. It may even be admitted that the name Viṣṇu had not obtained the same importance at the time when the hymns were composed as Sūrya or Āditya, but that would not contradict or militate against the identification. The fact of Viṣṇu's being placed on an equality with the other gods, is also not antagonistic to his being the same with Āditya, for Āditya himself is so treated in a large number of verses without in any way detracting from his lofty position as one of the three principal gods. It is well-known to Vedic scholars that the hymns generally speak in the superlative degree, and extol the immediate subject of their laudation with the highest praise without any reference to its actual rank, or the attributes elsewhere assigned to the other gods. Adverting to this circumstance, Dr. Muir justly observes : "When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. 'Among you,O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young : you are all great indeed,' (R. V. VIII. 30. 1) is a sentiment which though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old [R. V. I. 27. 13] this is only an attempt to find

46. *Idem*, IV. p. 85.

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the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave of others". [47]

It may be reasonably argued that if Viṣṇu be the sun, why should he appear as distinct from Āditya, Mitra, and Pūṣan? If the different gods are the same, why are they not at once said to be so? Why are they described with different attributes under different names? The replies to these questions occur in the fact that such has been the nature of mythology in all countries. The Greek Pantheon, no less than the Hindu, was peopled by a small number of gods, increased manifold by a variety of names and attributes. Each set of attributes constituted a separate divinity, though essentially the individual intended was the same with another, or several others. According to the ancient Indian theory there were only three gods, Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya, and as often as they got separate designations and separate attributes, so often they became separate, multiplying to thirty-three at first, and to as many millions afterwards. Again, in course of time and by changes in the feeling or modes of thinking of the worshippers, some names got greater prominence than others, and the backward ones got gradually neglected, and ultimately forgotten. Pūṣan and Mitra in this way have now become quite obsolete, though it is undeniable that they were among the foremost of gods in early times, both among the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians, and then they were well-known to be forms of Sūrya. It is evident that Viṣṇu has had great advantage in this respect, and that from being at one time the name of one of the personages of the earliest, or Vedic, trinity of Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya, he became in the Brāhmaṇic period one of the later trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, in which his attributeof protection, which at first he enjoyed in common with several others, was made his special distinctive characteristic, and subsequently in the *Itihāsa* epoch rose to the dignity of the supreme divinity, which he now claims, and has done for several centuries among a large number of votaries. In this we have only an instance of the peculiarity of mythology which has manifested itself times without number in connexion with the history of religion, and not a fact that need at all raise any doubt as to the true character of Viṣṇu in Vedic times. It is in the nature of mythological religion to develope or rehabilitate old ideas, to change names, give prominence to particular attributes, and cast others into oblivion, and this is exactly what we find in the new triad. The three were not new gods, but the old ones under new names : Brahmā is no other than Agni, with the special attribute of creation ; Viṣṇu is Sūrya, with the role of protection ; and Śiva is Vāyu, with that of destruction. Vāyu, first changed to Indra, then to Rudra and lastly to Śiva,—first, the god of wind, then that of the firmament or master of storms and clouds, then that of all that is terrible, and lastly that of universal destruction.

Vaisnavism of the *Brāhmaṇas* : In the *Brāhmaṇas*, Viṣṇu ceases to be a mere name or attribute of the sun, and appears in the character of a distinct god with a well-defined personality. His original great feat of traversing the universe by three steps is all but entirely lost sight of, and if he is still reckoned an integral member of a triad, it is not

47. *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 100.

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the old one of Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya, the threefold symbols of an unknown and inscrutable divinity, but of a new theogony with a different role. He is also the subject of several elaborate myths in which he assumes parts which have nothing to do with the sun. One of them, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, relates how he became pre-eminent among the gods [152] and how he lost his head. The story is repeated in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* with some variations.[48] Another in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [49] makes him the door-keeper of the gods ; a third in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes him as hiding himself near the root of a tree, three fingers' depth below the earth, and recovering, from the Asuras, the sovereignty of the world for the Devas. [50] In all these he is identified with sacrifice, and not related to any solar myth. In the last story we have the first germ of what was afterwards developed into the myth of the Dwarf Incarnation, in conjunction with the epithet *trivikrama* or 'the god of three steps'. It does not appear, however, that during the epoch under notice, Viṣṇu had so far alienated himself from the other gods as to be the divinity of a separate *cultus* ; he was one of the members of the celestial host, and received his share of adoration and offerings in common with the rest.

Vaisnavism of the time of Panini and the *Itihāsas* : Turning now to Pāṇini and the *Itihāsas*, i. e., the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we find not only a distinct cult having Viṣṇu for its object of adoration, fully established, but the doctrine of his incarnation put forth with great confidence. Pāṇini was familiar with the names of some of the principal personages in the history of Kṛṣṇa, and adduced the names of Kṛṣṇa, Pradyumna, Arjuna, Aniruddha, Vāsudeva and Subhadrā to illustrate his rules, [51] and, in illustration of one, which says that "the affix *kaṇ* should be elided when livelihood is implied", he observes "those objects which are taken about from house to house, by idol-worshippers to earn a livelihood are called images of gods", (*deva-prakṛtayaḥ*) and then adds by way of example Vāsudeva, Śiva and Āditya, or carriers of idols of Vāsudeva, Śiva and Āditya, [52] showing clearly that in his time not only separate sets of sectarians of the three gods were fully established, but that some of them earned their livelihood by carrying about idols as a means of begging. It proves also that Viṣṇu at the time had been so thoroughly identified with Kṛṣṇa, his alleged incarnation, that he was indicated by the derivative name, son of Vasudeva, and not by his own original designation. In another passage salutation to Kṛṣṇa is enjoined as calculated to make a journey pleasant. [53] In a third, the word Vāsudeva is explained as meaning a person, who is devoted to, or has faith in Vāsudeva. [54] These passages are of considerable importance as proving the currency of the Kṛṣṇa cult from before the time of Pāṇini, or over a thousand

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48. *Ibid* IV. p. 110.
49. *Ibid.* IV. 114.
50. *Ibid.* IV. 108.
51. *Ibid.* IV. 2, 56 ; IV. 1, 114 ; IV. 398.
52. Jīvikātha cāpaṇye / vāsudevaḥ / śivaḥ / ādityaḥ / devalakā jīvikārthaṃ yāḥ parigṛhya gṛhād gṛhamaṭanti tā devapratikṛtaya ucyante // V. 3. 99.
53. Kṛṣṇaṃ nameccet sukhaṃ yāyāta / Kṛṣṇaṃ namasyati cet sukhaṃ yāsyati / atra Kṛṣṇanamanaṃ hetuḥ sukhayānaṃ hetumat / III. 3. 156.
54. Vāsudevo bhaktirasya vāsudevakaḥ / IV. 3. 98.

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years before the commencement of the Christian era. If we accept Max Müller's low estimate of the age of Pāṇini to be the right one, it would still take us beyond the sixth century before Christ. The passages, it is true, occur as examples, and Goldstücker demurs to the historical value of those portions of Pāṇini's work in which examples are given ; but regarding them Max Müller very justly observes : "It was impossible to teach or to use Pāṇini's *Sūtras* without examples. These necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the Great Commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed". [55] But this argument apart, the distinction which Bṛndāvaṇa and Mathurā, particularly the latter, the seats of some of Kṛṣṇa's early exploits, attained at an early epoch, as holy cities, and the references made to them by Greek authors, such as Arrian and Pliny, show that the Kṛṣṇa cult had become popular and current long before the time of the Greek invasion.

Opinion is divided among European orientalists as to the respective ages of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and also about the authenticity of the passages in those works which assign divine origin to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and it is not my intention to enter into a chronological dissertation about them in this place, but whatever their age and authenticity, this much is undeniable that they fully recognise the divinity of Viṣṇu, and of his being the object of special adoration to a large number of sectaries. Nor are evidences wanting in those works, of a strong spirit of bigotry aud antagonism having prevailed in their times between the followers of Viṣṇu and Śiva. These evidences appear under different forms, but their tendency and purport are unmistakable. Thus in one place, the *Rāmāyaṇa* makes *Paraśurāma* relate a story in which it is said that on one occasion, "the gods made a request to Brahmā, desiring him to find out the strength and weakness of Śitikaṇṭha (Mahādeva) and Viṣṇu, and Brahmā, most excellent of the three, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity, a great and terrible fight ensued between Śitikaṇṭha and Viṣṇu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Śiva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, *ṛṣis*, and *cāraṇas*, were pacified. Seeing that the bow of Śiva had been relaxed by the prowess of Viṣṇu, the gods and *ṛṣis* [153] esteemed Viṣṇu to be superior". [56] Other stories of a similar character are not by any means scarce, but it is not necessary to quote them here, as it is not likely that anybody will question the fact that religious antagonism between the Śivites and the Vaiṣṇavites was high at the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

The ritual of this Vaiṣṇavism was probably the same which we see described in the tenth Book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. Set forms of prayers at morning, noon and evening, offerings of fruits, flowers, water, &c, special *mantras*, and modified forms of *gāyatrī* were its chief elements, resulting in the substitution of faith for knowledge. This was the natural consequence of rigid obedience to set forms under a domineering

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55. *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 46.
56. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 147.

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hierarchy. Revealed religion, in such cases, generaliy requires an unlimited degree of faith, and it was promoted by a spirit of proselytism which polemical antagonism usually engenders. Not that the religion of the Vedas did not insist on a great amount of faith ; it did so to a large extent ; nevertheless the old belief was that an intelligent understanding of the nature and object of ceremonies was necessary to perfect fruition, and the leading Upaniṣads laid particular stress upon this point ; but it was by no means a convenient dogma for the conversion or control of large masses of men, and a more summary means of governing the mind of the lower orders, was greatly needed, and this was found in the maxim of unswerving and unquestioning faith, or *Bhakti*, as a substitute for knowledge. The *Bhagvadgītā* gave it great prominence, by pointing out the inefficacy of practical worship enjoined in the ordinance of the Smṛti, and the advantage of absolute devotion to the service of God ; and Śāṇḍilya reduced it to a system in his Aphorisms on the subject, (*Śatasūtra*), in which he "rejects the Hindu (gnostic) theory, that knowledge is the one thing needful and contends that knowledge is only the handmaid of faith". [57] The *bhakti* or faith advocated by him was however, not a mere principle of belief, or action in consonance with requirements of that belief, but an earnest, unflinching vehement devotion, such as, in the case of worldly matters, is indicated by the word passion, and in a moral sense by pathos. Śāṇḍilya defines it as "absolute devotion to God," [58] and Svapneśvara explains the devotion by describing it as "a function of the mind with reference to the Supreme Being similar to what is evinced in regard to worldly objects under particular circumstances", [59] a feeling similar to what is engendered—to use a tough phrase of Aristotle—by our concupiscible appetites, but bearing a closer affinity to his *Boulysis* or rational appetite, or the *Thumos* of Plato as distinct from his "*epithumia* an earnestness connected with the rational and immortal part of our nature, and stimulating to the pursuit through God of good and the avoiding of excess and evil". The most important peculiarity of this devotion or theopathy is its entire freedom from reason : it admits no argument, or discussion, or consideration as to the reasonableness of the action prompted by it : it is an unreasoning and absolute belief,—an unqualified and entire resignation of the mind—which is so sublimely expressed in the language of the English prayer : "Lord, Thy will be done". Its chief object was to override the dialectics of the philosophers, who discarded the promptings of the mind in their schemes of salvation, and to substitute a religion of the heart for one of reason,—of one much better calculated to command sympathy than either the rites of the Vedas, or the teachings of the Sāṃkhya, the Nyāya and the Vedānta. The full effect of the innovation did not, however, manifest itself until a later stage in the history of this system of religion.

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57. Ballantyne's *Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy*, p. iii.
58. sā parānuraktirīśvare /
59. Parameśvaraviṣayakāntaḥ karaṇavṛtti viṣaya eva bhaktistadvaiśeṣyaṃ ca laukikānurāgādaumugraham /

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Vaisnavism of the Puranas : The Purāṇas, in their account of Vaiṣṇavism, do not differ much from what we believe it to have been at the time of Pāṇini and the *Itihāsas*. They dwell at length on various manifestations and incarnations of the Divinity, some including his entire essence or spirit, others a portion of it. This must have taken place at least two thousand years ago, for the Eran boar dates from the second century of the Christian era, and then the boar incarnation was an object of worship, and the sovereign who dedicated it and some of his ancestors are described in the inscription on its back as Bhāgavatas, or followers of Viṣṇu. [60] They insist on the worship of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, [61] who, are unquestionably identified with Viṣṇu, and unflinching and unreasoning faith of the Bhakti system the greatest, and indeed the sole means of salvation. They also dilate largely on the identity of the three leading gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, though the followers of those divinities, it would seem, cherished the most implacable rancour and enmity against each other. In all this the Purāṇas are in accord with the *Mahābhārata* which they follow ; but in the treatment of the dogma of Bhakti, they go far ahead of their predecessors. Assciating it with the Vedāntic doctrine of the relation of the human to the Divine soul, they—the Bhāgavata particularly—have developed a system in which the passions of affection and love are brought to bear upon the Divinity more prominently and earnestly than religious [154] devotion, and the Godhead is represented in such mystic, allegorical language as to appear to thinkers of the present fastidious age highly unbecoming, insulting, licentious, and even blasphemous—in which the substitution of the impassioned eloquence of the poet addressing his mistress for the sober language of respectful adoration with reference to the Deity, is held the most sacred. This is the result of a "hypertrophy of the religious feeling" which envelopes the religious sentiment with the charms and imagery of mundane life—of an excessive fervour of devotion, which, rising above all the amenities of sober society, longs to hold communion with the Godhead, in a manner of which sexual love is the most perfect type known to man. Poets of ancient times indulged in a variety of fanciful and voluptuous imageries in describing matters celestial, and a too literal, or materialistic, or spiritual interpretation of their allegorical language, led either to the formation of myths, or the development of mysticism of various kinds. The allegories

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60. *Journal* As. Soc. XXX. 20. The date of the record is 165 years, but the era is not indicated, and antiquarians are not decided as to what it refers to, but non bring it down lower than the third century of the Christian era.

61. The *Viṣṇu purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa, as an *Aṅśāvatāra* or a manifestation of a part of Viṣṇu ; *Aṅśāvatāra Brahmarṣe yo yaṃ Yadukulodbhavaḥ* : but the *Bhāgavata* takes him to be *Pūrṇa Brahma*, or *Brahma* in his entirety. The difference is reconciled by the commentators, by the assertion, that even as a lamp lighted from another, does not abstract from the light of the first, and yet is as bright as the first, so the divine spirit, which has the character of light, cannot suffer diminution or enhancement. Hence, "a full arises out of a full ; if a full is taken from a full, a full remains." *Vide* Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 219.

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of the Vedas have, without a single exception, been elaborated into myths in after ages, and not a few of them form the basis of mystical dogmas. In Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece and Rome, ancient poetry went through the same course of transformation, and the result was very much the same. Allegories on religious subjects, when not otherwise explained, have been looked upon as mystic, and the *Song of Songs* of Solomon has always been looked upon as a remarkable specimen of this species of composition, typifying under the figure of a marriage the intimate connexion between God and His Church. The prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah and David use the same kind of mystic allegory,[62] and instances of this description from the Old Testament may be easily multiplied. The mystical character of the *Song of Solomon* may be compared with that of the *Pastorals* of Jayadeva, designed, like the *song* in question, to illustrate the longing of the human soul for communion with the divine. The late Dr. Adam Clarke was so struck with the comparison between the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva and the *Song of Solomon*, that he inserted the whole poem in his commentary on the Bible with this introduction: "*Gītagovinda*.—A mystical poem supposed to have a near resemblance to the *Book of Canticles*, many passages of which it illustrates. There are few turns of thought in the *Song of Songs* that may not find a parallel in the *Gītagovinda*, and even the strongly impassioned language of Solomon may be everywhere supported by that of Jayadeva and *vice versa*." The eminent linguist and Biblical critic, Dr. Mason Good, in his translation of Solomon's *Song*, has illustrated many passages of it from the *Gītagovinda*; and Hartwell Horn, whose *Introduction to the Scriptures* is a text-book in the principal universities of England and America, and a knowledge of which is required by the Bishops from candidates studying for orders, remarks: "In further confirmation of the preceding view of the spiritual design of this sacred oriental poem, we may observe that this allegoric mode of describing the sacred union between mankind at large, or an individual and pious soul, and the Great Creator, is common to almost all Eastern poets from the earliest down to the present age. Without such an esoteric or spiritual interpretation, it is impossible to understand many passages of the Persian poets, Sādī and Hāfiz, and the Turkish commentators on them have uniformly thus interpreted them. A similar emblematic mysticism is equally conspicuous with the bards of Indra, and the Vedāntic or Hindu commentators have, in like manner, attributed a double, i. e., literal and spiritual, meaning to their compositions. This is particularly the case with the *Gītagovinda* or *Songs* of Jayadeva, the subject of which is the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, or the reciprocal attraction between the Divine goodness and the soul of man, and the style and imagery of which, like those of the royal Hebrew poet, are in the highest degree flowery and amatory."[63]

The language of such mystical poetry, whether it be of Solomon, or Hāfiz, or Sādī, or Jayadeva, or the *Bhāgavata*, is necessarily rich and voluptuous, and is apt to be misunderstood by expositors unable to enter into the spirit of oriental poetry; but, as

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62. *Isaiah* liv. 5, 6; lxxii, 5. *Jeremiah* ii. 2; iii. 1. *Psalm* xlv. *Revelation* xxi. 2, 9.
63. *Works*, III. p. 138.

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justly observed by Scott, the most popular commentator in the English Church, such "descriptions must not be judged by modern notions of delicacy, which, in a very vicious age, is apt to be fastidious." A remarkable instance of this fastidiousness and prudery is afforded by the American Episcopal Church which, impelled by them was led to exclude from their edition of the *English Prayer-Book*, a passage of the "Te Deum" which had been repeated with devotional feelings by the Holy Church throughout the world for fifteen centuries, and which, in the present day, English ladies of the most refined feeling read without any improper idea being excited. Judged by such a standard, the language of the Bhakti system must appear peculiarly offensive, but where no wrong is meant, it would be unfair to insist on an interpretation which cannot but lead to wrong.

Modern Vaisnavism : Thus though the mystic system of Bhakti was first promulgated by the *Bhagavadgītā* as early as the time of the *Mahābhārata*, and fully developed in the *Śāṇḍilya* Sūtra and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, it does not seem to have effected any material change in the form of the current Vaiṣṇavism of the country for a long [**155**] time. Hermits and sages, in their monastic seclusion, indulged in its mystic reveries ; but the great body of the people adhered to the established ritual, and satisfied their religious craving with the *mantras* and *sandhyās* which their ancestors had followed. Nimbārka *alias* Bhāskara Ācārya was the first who attempted to give a wide circulation to the mysticism of Bhakti, and he was followed by Jayadeva in Bengal, and Rāmānuja in Southern India, both in the twelfth century. Then came Vallabhācārya, Mīrā Bāyī, Mādhvācārya, and Caitanya between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and they so completely changed the character of Vaiṣṇavism, as to give it quite a new shape. Songs, music and dancing replaced the *mantras* of old, Sanskrit prayers gave place to vernacular ones, and service to images of Kṛṣṇa in various forms to established rituals. Even the name of the followers of the new faith was changed from Vaiṣṇavas to Bhaktas, or the theopathists, i. e., the followers of the Bhakti creed.

The history of the Bhakti system as sketched above, leaves no doubt about its independent origin, but the close family resemblance which it bears to Sufism, and the time when it came into vogue, would suggest the possibility, or likelihood, of its having borrowed its traits, at least some of them, from the Muhammadan saints of India. To judge of this we must compare the leading features of the two systems.

It is abundantly manifest that both are the results of the same process of thinking and of the same state of the religious feelings. Both the Sufi and the Bhakta alike yearn for communion with a beneficient creator, and assume an ardent and enthusiastic love for him to be the only means through which that union is to be effected. The one is as thorough an optimist as the other. The Sufi represents himself as entirely devoted to the search of truth, and perfectly independent of the ordinances of the canonical law ; so does the Bhakta. A blind submission to the opinions of the Khalifā is a peculiar characteristic of Sufism. Its followers "are invited to embark in a sea of doubt under the guidance of a sacred teacher, whom they are required to deem superior to all other

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mortals, and worthy of a holy confidence that borders upon adoration". With the Bhakta the case is still more impressive. "Of all obligation", says Professor Wilson, "the *Guru Padāśraya*, or servile veneration of the spiritual teacher, is the most important and compulsory : the members of this sect not only are required to deliver up themselves and everything valuable to the disposal of the Guru, they are only to entertain full belief of the usual Vaiṣṇava tenet, which identifies the votary, the teacher and the god, but they are to look upon the Guru as one and the present Deity, as possessed of more authority even than the Deity, and as one whose favour is more to be courted, and whose anger is more to be deprecated, than even that of Kṛṣṇa himself". [64] A literal interpretation of this principle by the high priests of the Vallabhācārya sect has resulted in the licentiousness of the Mahārājā Gossāins of Western India.

The Sufi knows no distinction of caste, nor does the Bhakta. Caitanya freely admitted Mongols and Paṭāns within the pale of his sect, and invested them with a sanctity which few even of his Brāhmaṇa followers could venture to assume. "A total disengagement of the mind from all temporal concerns and worldly pursuits", is insisted upon as a *sine qua non* both by the Sufi and the Bhakta, and none can assume the *Khirkā* or the *Kaṇṭhā* without first submitting to this primary condition. Fasts and penances are alike despised by both, and yet both pass their lives in one eternal round of privations. They are voluptuaries in thought and expression, and allegories and love-songs and *ghazals* figure prominently in all their writings. Concerts, both vocal and instrumental, are their special favourites. Caitanya repeatedly insists upon the miraculous effect of *Saṅkīrtana* in training the mind for divine communion, and devoted much of his time to religious singing and dancing. Fainting in ecstatic devotion is another peculiar characteristic common to the two sects, and innumerable instances are on record of Caitanya, Mansūr Helāj and their followers, swooning away in fits of religious enthusiasm. Nor is this peculiarity confined to the great teachers alone ; even neophytes of very moderate pretensions lay claim to this mark of sanctity. When Sufis fall into this condition "the Sheikh, aided by his Vicars, employs no other means to draw them out of this state of unconsciousness than to rub their arms and legs, and to breathe into their ears the worlds *Lā ilāha ill' Allāh*". [65] The swooning of the Bhakta is called *daśāprāpti*, and the only remedy resorted to for reviving him is the repetition of the name of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa near his ears. Caitanya was particularly subject to these fits, and one of them, coming on whilst he was bathing in the sea near Puri, cost him his life.

The Bhaktas believe that for the attainment of supreme beatitude, they must pass through five stages or states of probation. The first of these is called *Śānta* or quietism, or a state of calm contemplation of the Deity. The second is *Dāsya* or servitude, which in a more active state leads on to the third or *Sakhya* or friendship, and that in its turn to the fourth or *Vātsalya* (filial affection), and lastly to *Mādhurya* or love, when the devotee, rising above all idea of divinity, entertains the same ardent attachment for the

64. *Hindu Sects*, p. 103. 65. Brown's *Dervishes*, p. 224.

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Deity which a human lover feels for the object of his love, or "what the milkmaids of Vṛndāvana entertained for their charming Kṛṣṇa".

[156] With the Sufi the gradation is similar, but not identical.[66] He has only four states of probation. With him the first is *Nāsūt*, or humanity, in which the disciple, subjecting himself to the canons of his faith, attempts to purify his soul by the practice of religion. It may be compared to the *Dāsya* of the Bhakta. The second is *Jábrut* when, by religious exercises in the preceding stage, the devotee attains power to abandon the observances of religious forms and ceremonies, as he now exchanges, to use their own phrase, "practical for spiritual worship". Its relation to the third stage of the Bhaktas, our Indian Sufis, when they, rising above the ordinances of the Smṛti, profess themselves to be the friends of the Deity, is evident. The next is a state of knowledge (*Āraf*) of which extreme sanctity is the peculiar characteristic. It has its counterpart in the *Śānta* of the Vaiṣṇavas. The last state of Sufi excellence is *Wasil* or union with the Deity, and in this the Sufis apparently differ from the Bhaktas. The former, adopting the doctrine of the modern Vedāntists, believe the supreme cause of all to bear the same relation to the human soul which the sun does to its rays ; that like unto the solar rays, emanations from the Divine Soul are continually darted forth and re-absorbed, and that this absorption to the primary essence is the great end and object of their religion. They hold that when in the state of *Wasil*, a Sufi saint has thoroughly understood the relation of his own self to the divinity, he might with propriety proclaim of himself, "I am the truth" [*An ul haq*], just in the same way that the Vedāntist do the Vedic dogma of *So'hamasmi*, "I am he," "*Aham Brahma*" ; and the like. While the latter maintain that the human soul is distinct and radically different from the Divine one, although possessing in some measure its nature, both being uncreate and eternal, and that a state of fellowship with the Deity in one eternal round of divine felicity, is the highest reward of their religion.

This difference, however, is more nominal than real ; for notwithstanding their belief in the doctrine which maintains the identity of the divine and the human soul, the Sufis are very uncertain as to the exact nature of the union they so passionately long for. One of the greatest saints of this order, whose mystic poetry is held in the highest venerations, Mowlānā Jelāluddīn Rūmi, has a verse which entirely scouts the idea of actual absorption into the Deity. He writes :—

Now, mystic Lovers ! with strange delight,
To heavenly mansions wing your rapturous flight ;
Tread, of yon halls august, the marble floor,
Behold the ETERNAL FAIR, and face to face adore".

The similitude of the two systems is so far very close ; and arguing on it, it would not be unreasonable to infer a relationship between them. But on the one hand, the

66. See Capt. Graham's paper on the Sufis in Vol. I. of the *Transactions* of the Literary Society of Bombay, to which I am indebted for much of what is written above of these pantheistic visionaries.

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Bhakti system dates, as stated above, from the time of the *Bhagvadgītā*, or many many centuries before the advent of Muhammad, from which epoch it has gradually and steadily developed itself, and there is nothing to prove conclusively that the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavism as popularised by Caitanya, were not drawn from the Hindu Śāstras. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* and other leading works of the sect, all the leading doctrines and rules of ceremonial observances are supported by quotations from the Purāṇas and other works, which existed from some time before the advent of the Muhammadans into India, and it would follow, therefore, that the rules and doctrines are of Indian origin. On the other hand, the history of Sufism is involved in obscurity ; nothing is known of the first promulgators of the system and of its subsquent progress till the time of Sheikh Mohiuddīn'Ali, who in the middle of the eleventh century published his *Fatūhāt i Makki* and *Fasūs ul Hūkam*, which have ever since been reckoned as the text-books of the sect. *Allāh o bas*, "God and nothing else" is a favourite dogma of the Sufis, and they ascribe it to Abu Said Abul Khair who lived about nine hundred years ago. Some of them maintain that Muhammad was the first promulgator of their religion, and was himself a Sufi of the highest order. That the Prophet of Mecca was a theopathist of the highest order, and that he was greatly aided in the dissemination of his religion by a body of ardent enthusiasts, there can be no doubt, and that he inculcated many pantheistic dogmas, admits of proof ; but whether they owe their paternity to him or to a foreign source, and how far they assimilate to the doctrine of the modern Sufis, are problems which still await further research for their solution.

Further, *a priori* the presumption is strong, that Sufism owes its origin and a good many of its details to the Bhaktism of India, and a host of European writers have adopted this view of the question. Sir William Jones was the first to notice the analogy between the two creeds, and others have since dwelt on it at more or less length. Mr. Brown in his *History of the Dervishes*, says : "The subject is not a new one. It can be traced in the Old and New Testament, as well as in the *Korāṇ*, and, I fully believe, is peculiar to the learned ranks of the people of India, form whence it entered into Arabia and Persia. It has its origin in the belief that man's spirit is a Divine emanation, and, under certain peculiar circumstances, is possessed of a [157] Divine faculty disconnected with his corporeal part, and, therefore, attributed wholly to his spiritual." [67] Arguments, however, are not wanting to support an equally strong presumption in favour of the theory which would trace its source much nearer home than India. It is well-known that even during the early apostolic age many Christian professors were deeply imbued with mystic ideas about religion, and that they promulgated them so widely that for a long time those ideas rivalled the Christian faith in their currency. Herder, Ewald, De Wette, Renan and others are of opinion that the *Song of Songs* was originally understood in a literal sense, and that it was only in the first century of the Christian era, when the spirit of mysticism was rampant among a certain class of Christians, that it was subjected to allegorical treatment. The Gnostics were particularly remarkable

67. *The Dervishes*, p. 7.

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for their devotion to mysticism, and the Syrian school of that sect flourished to the end of the sixth century, and there was nothing to prevent the Muhammadans from borrowing the dogma of mystic adoration from them. Several Sufi terms are of Greek origin and they must have been derived through the medium of Syrian Christians. Even the very name of the sect seems very like a Greek one. It is usual to derive it from *suf*, "coarse wool," the material of which the clothing of the Sufis is usually made ; but this is not to the liking of the Sufis, and they say it means "pure," and one may without any violence recognise in it the *sophia* of the Gnostics—that female of heavenly origin who awakened to a consciousness of her spiritual character, watches over man, and never ceases to impart to him fresh supplies of spiritual influence, which it is the aim of Jaldabaoth to crush and destory." The question is, however, one that does not much concern the object of the present essay, and it may, therefore, be left for future enquiry, particularly as at present, I believe, there are not data sufficiently explicit and harmonious in their evidence satisfactorily to meet the requirements of the case.

Of the several phases of Vaiṣṇavism above noticed, the Bhakti system of Caitanya is what now prevails in Orissa. Caitanya spent the last twelve years of his existence at Puri, and by his zeal, sanctity and influence over the people, gave great éclat to the worship of Jagannātha. He converted to his faith Pratāparudra, who was the sovereign of Orissa at the time, and through him effected a great many changes in the daily service of the god, and gave wide currency to his faith. To him is due the practice of reciting the *Gītagovinda* daily at the entrance to the temple, and on the whole Jagannātha is greatly indebted to him for the world-wide reputation he enjoys. Not that the dogma of Bhakti was unknown at Puri before his time ; on the contray, there is reason to believe that it was synchronous with the foundation of the present temple under the orders of Anaṅgabhīma Deva in the middle of the twelfth century ; but Caitanya's preachings did much to bring it home to every one, and popularise it among the people of Bengal from whom he had proceeded, and that of Southern India for whose conversion he laboured hard, both personally and through his chief disciples. How long before that the Paurāṇic system prevailed, is a question which will form the subject of enquiry in a subsequent chapter.

Heliolatry : The earliest god of the Aryans was the great luminary of the day, the manifest symbol of the unmanifest Divinity, who creates and sustains the universe. What his first name exactly was, we know not ; but there is little doubt that it was formed of a root like *sur* or *sar* or *sṛ* whence the Greek *helios* and the Latin *sol* by the regular mutation of the *s* and *r*, and Sūrya was one of his earliest names according to the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*. How Sūrya changed into Viṣṇu has already been shown, and as Viṣṇu rose to importance, Sūrya *alias* Āditya fell back, till in the time of the Purāṇas he was relegated to a very subordinate position, and the bulk of his worhsippers ranged themselves in the ranks of the followers of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti. A few only remained faithful to him, and continued to adore him for their salvation, and these were known by the name of Saura or the worshippers of Sūrya, who, according to the Purāṇas, formed one of the five leading sects of the Hindus, viz., the Vaiṣṇavas, the Śaivas, the

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Śāktas, the Sauras and the Gāṇapatyas. Their number, however daily contracted, and at the beginning of the twelfth century, Halāyudha, in his *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva*, or the circle of the duties of Brāhmaṇas, but barely mentioned them without giving any details about the initiation of neophytes into that sect; the sect being so insignificant as not to render it worth while to devote to it even a small section in a large work professing to treat of the entire subject of the religious duties of the Brāhmaṇas. Raghunandana, who wrote three hundred and sixty years ago, is equally brief, noticing the sect but casually, without entering into any detail. In the present day, no Saura is to be met with in all Bengal or Orissa, and only a few are said to exist in the North-Western Provinces, and they number, perhaps, one in a hundred thousand of the people. Adverting to them, Wilson says, "There are a few of them, but very few, and they scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances. The *Tilaka*, or frontal mark, is made in a peculiar manner, with read sandal, and [158] the necklace should be of crystal: these are their chief peculiarities besides which, they eat one meal without salt on every Sunday, and each *Saṅkrānti* or the sun's entrance into a sign of the zodiac: they cannot eat either until they have beheld the sun, so that it is fortunate that they inhabit his native regions." [68] Of course, every Brāhmaṇa worship the sun daily at his *Sandhyā*, and no good Hindu performs a religious rite in which the sun does not obtain his share of *mantras* or offerings; but that is quite distinct from initiation into the *mantra* of the sun, and the acceptance of that divinity as the god elect for one's salvation. In this latter sense, the worship of the sun has all but completely ceased for near a thousand years, and no great temple has been dedicated to him within the last six hundred years. The Black Pagoda of Koṇārak was designed for him about the middle of the thirteenth century, but only to replace an older one which had become dilapidated. The new structure, however, fell down before it was consecrated, and was never rebuilt. In the Puri enclosure, there is a small temple containing an insignificant small figure of the sun, which is said to have been intended for the Koṇārak temple; but it is said to be the old one whose temple was being rebuilt and not a new one, and there is nothing to show that when it was made, the sun was received by any large number of persons as the deity for their salvation. The *Kapila Saṃhitā* praises the worship of the sun as a means of curing diseases, and the Koṇārak sun enjoyed its celebrity because it had cured a prince of leprosy. The temple at Gwalior enjoyed the same credit, and other temples elsewhere likewise depend for their celebrity on their healing powers. The temple of Mārtaṇḍa at Kashmir is perhaps the largest ancient temple of the sun extant; it dates from the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era, and at the time of its foundation, heliolatry might have been more current than in subsequent years, but the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, which notices it, says nothing in favour of such a theory; the princes of the time, such as Gonardya and his immediate predecessors and successors, being described as Śaivas.

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68. *Essays*, I. 266.

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Ganapatyas : The worshippers of the Gaṇeśa occupy even a more insignificant place in the Hindu community than the Sauras. According to Wilson, they "can scarcely be considered as a distinct sect : all the Hindus, in fact, worship this deity as the obviator of difficulties and impediments, and never commence any work, or set off on a journey, without invoking his protection. Some, however, pay him more particular devotion than the rest, and these are the only persons to whom the classification may be considered applicable. Gaṇeśa, however, it is believed, is never exclusively venerated, and the worship, when it is paid, is addressed to some of his forms, particularly those of Vakratuṇḍa and Dhuṇḍirāja." [69] In Orissa, Darpaṇa is the only place which is specially devoted to Gaṇeśa ; there in a wild spot on a low hill a small waterfall and an insignificant temple are the objects of respect ; but they never acquired any celebrity, and are generally looked upon with indifference. They are evidently of very modern date, as the *Kapila Saṃhitā* and other local legends have nothing to say about them. No Uriā accepts the *mantra* of Gaṇeśa as the means of his salvation, and the god is everywhere looked upon as a subordinate individual, presiding over the department of learning and prosperity, but not a saviour. It should be added, however, that the festival of *Gaṇeśa-caturthī* is observed more scrupulously by the Uriyās on the fourth of the wane in the month of Bhādra than by the Bengalis. The offerings at this festival are made on a pot of water which is placed in front of the worshipper, and not to any image, for it must be said to the credit of the Uriyās that, unlike the Bengalis, they do not, at their different fasts and festivals, make any image of clay for adoration for the occasion, and temporary clay images are all but unknown in their part of the country, the demand for such objects being confined to the small floating Bengali population.

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69. *Ibid.* I. 266.

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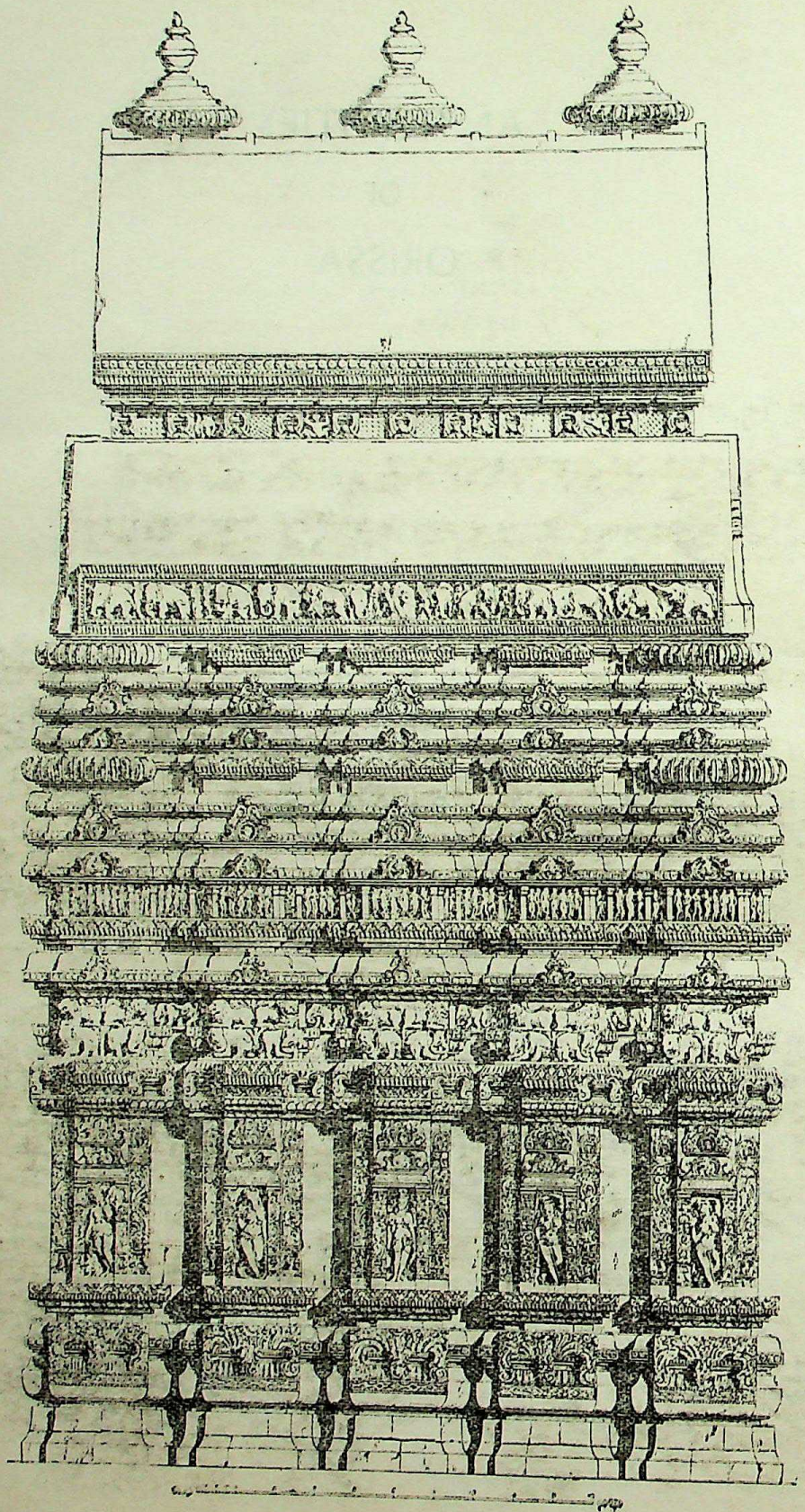

VAITAL DEUL, Bhuvaneśvara.

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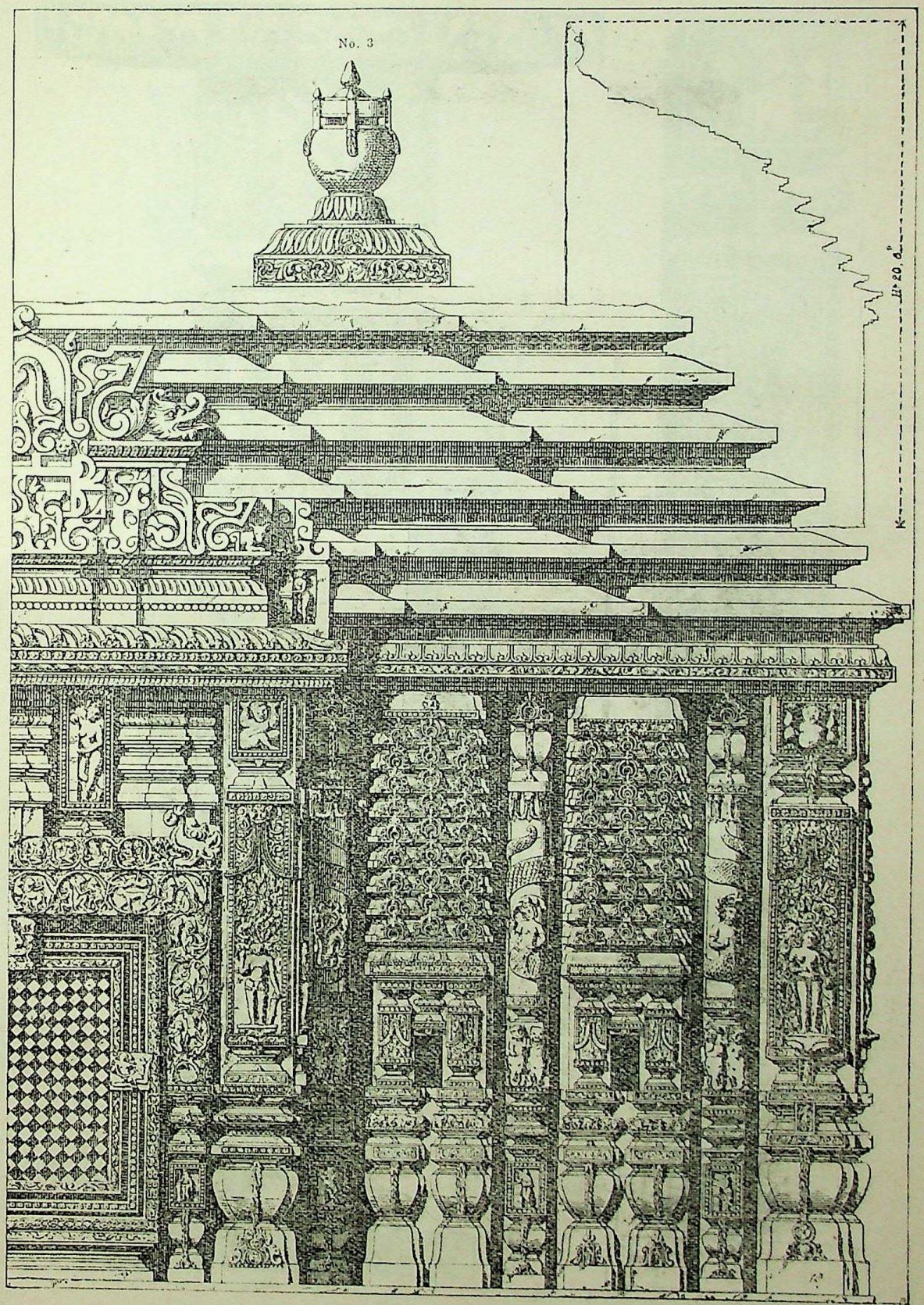

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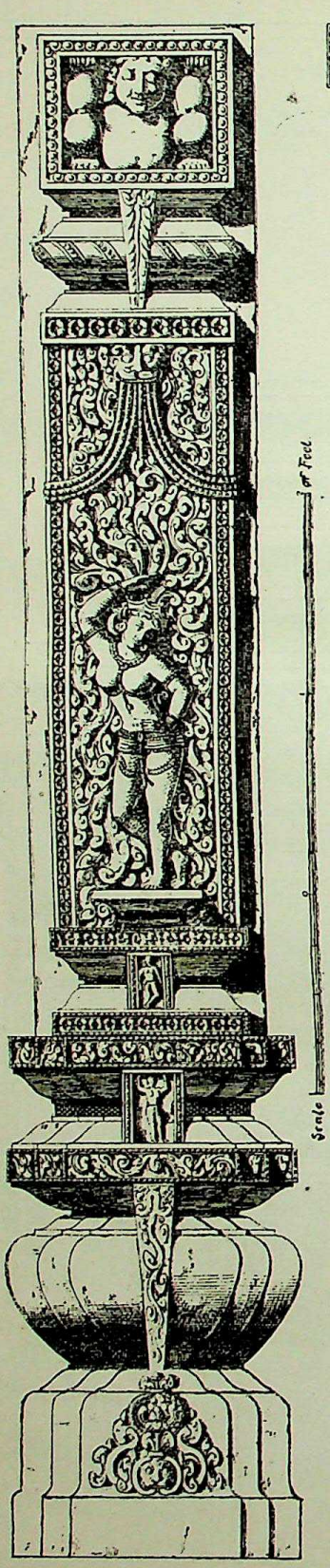

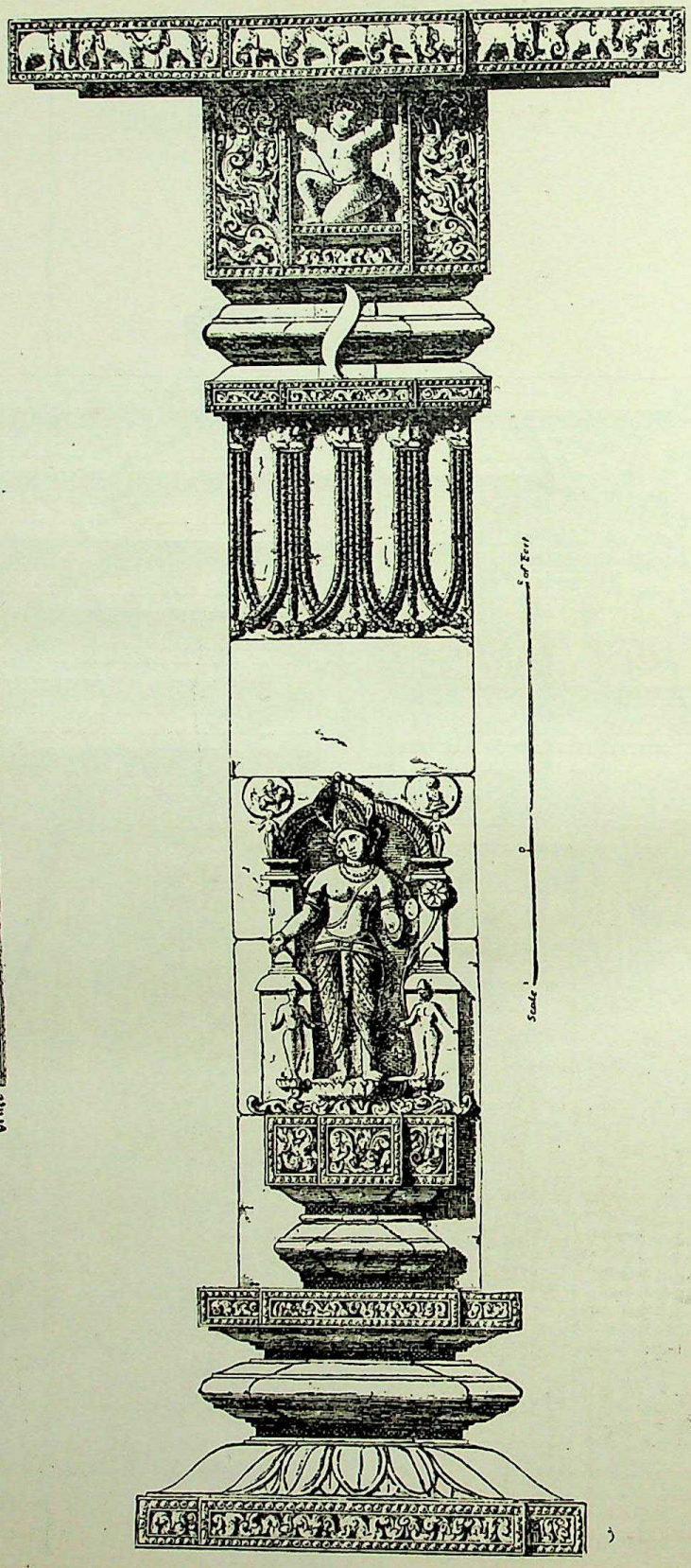

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PLATE V

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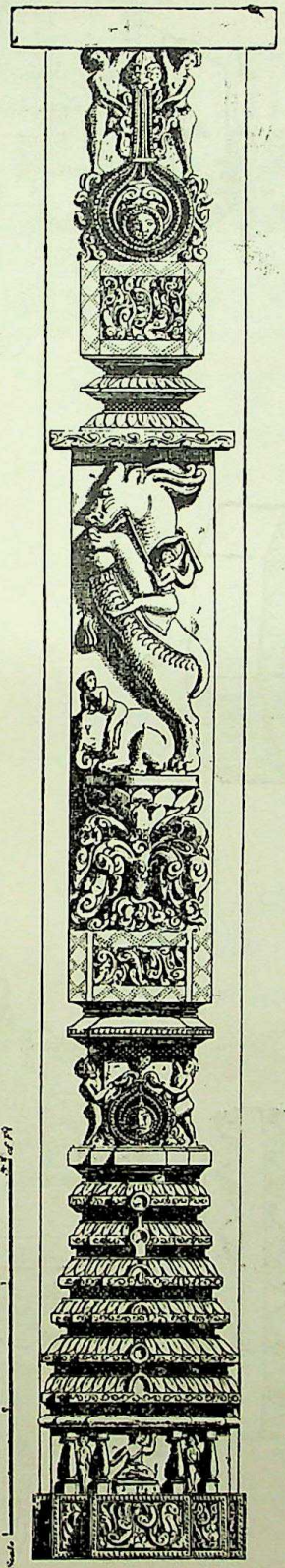

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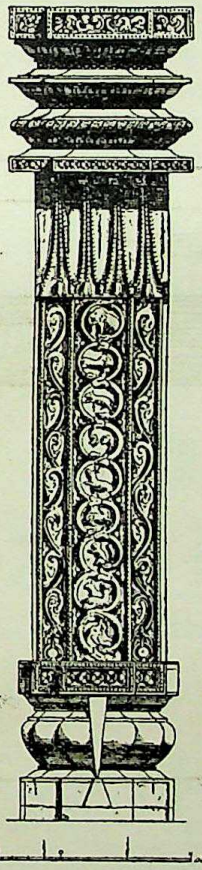

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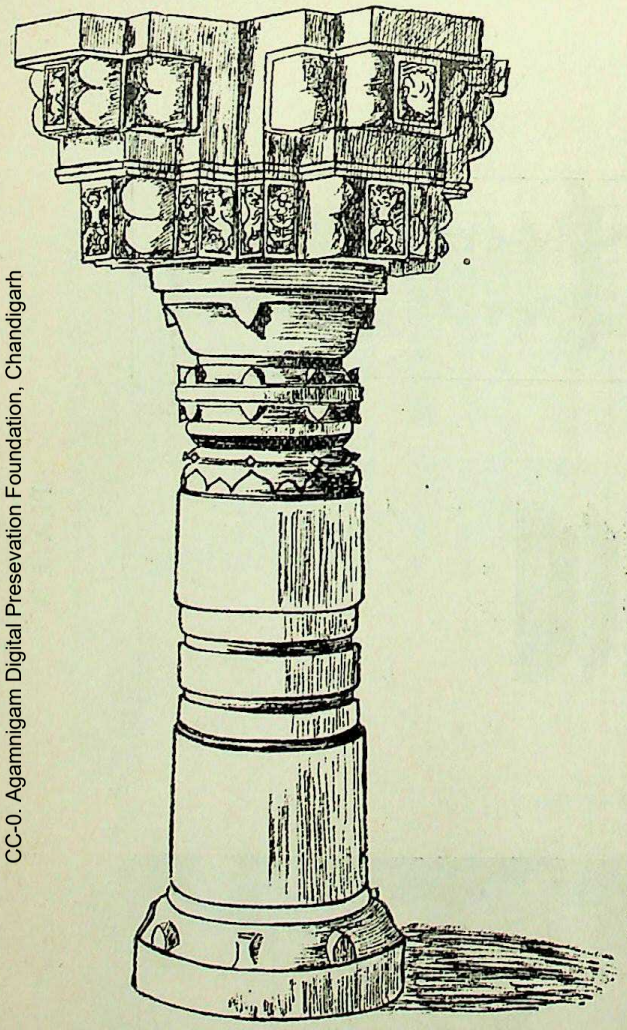

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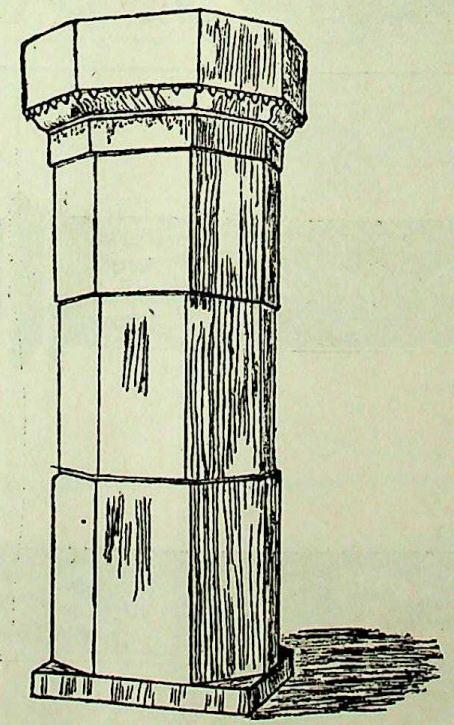

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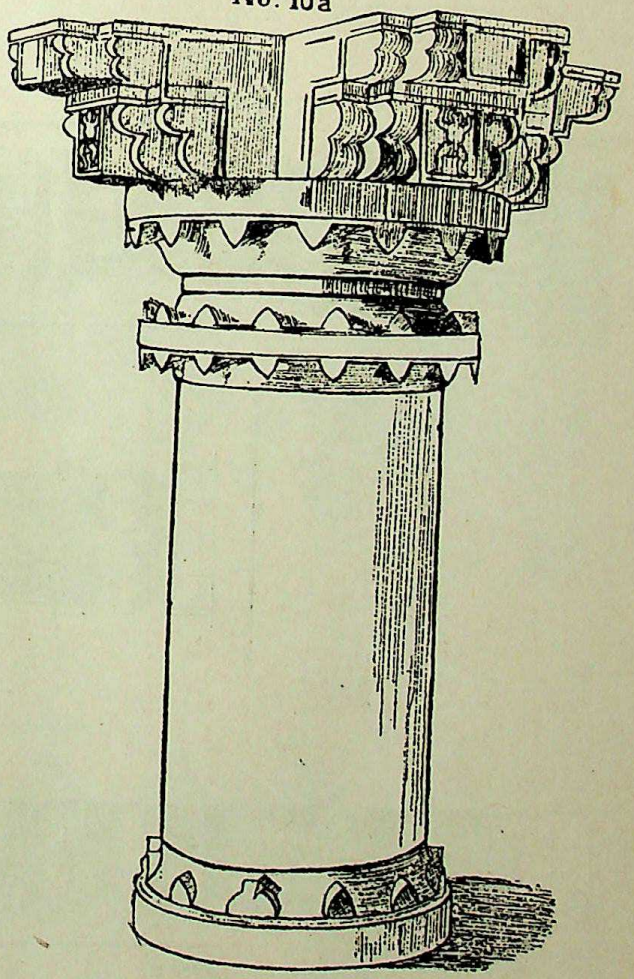

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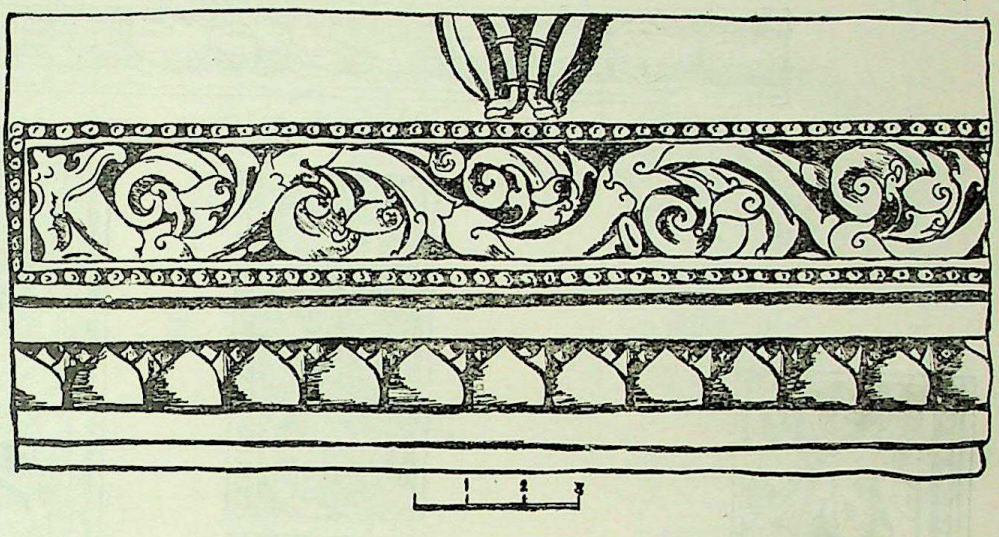

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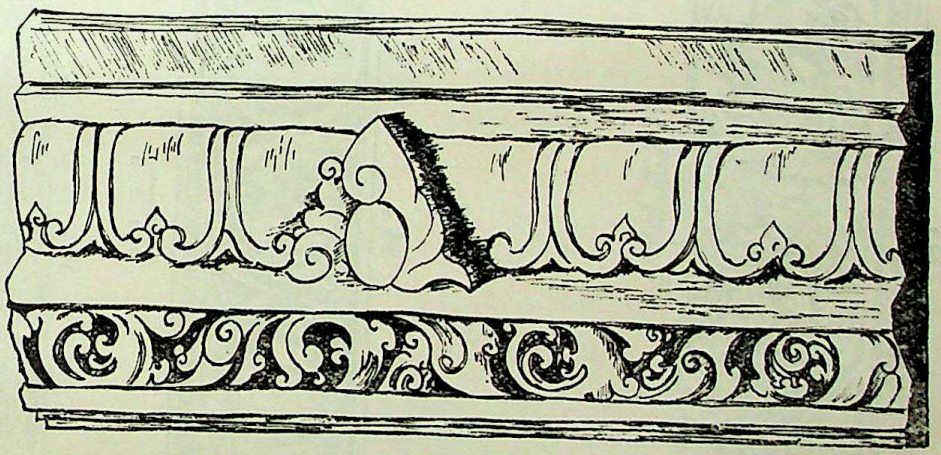

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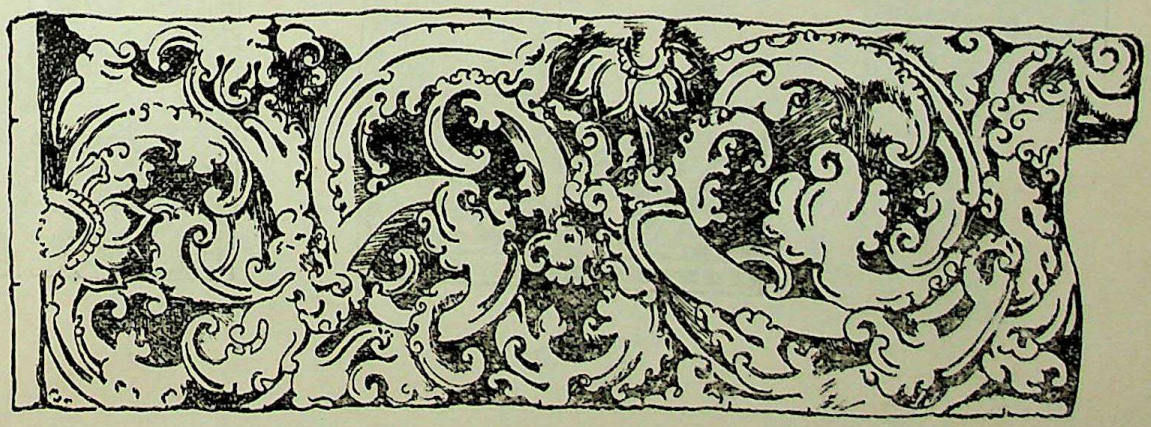

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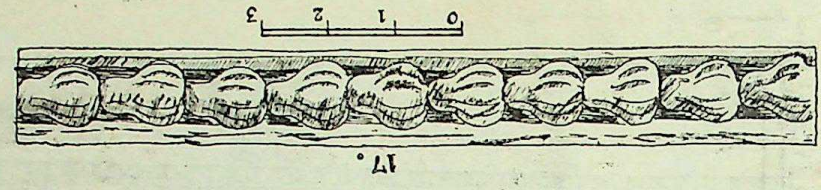

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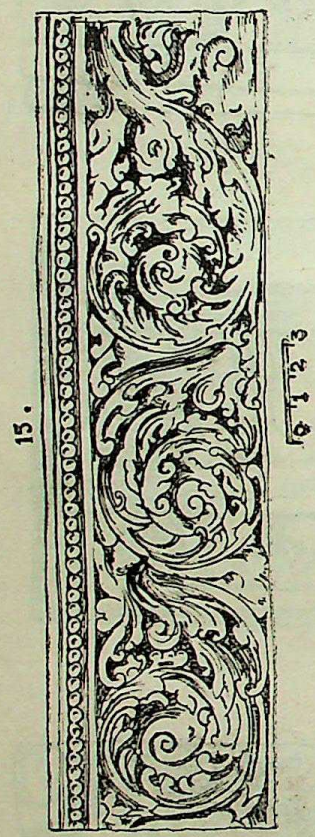

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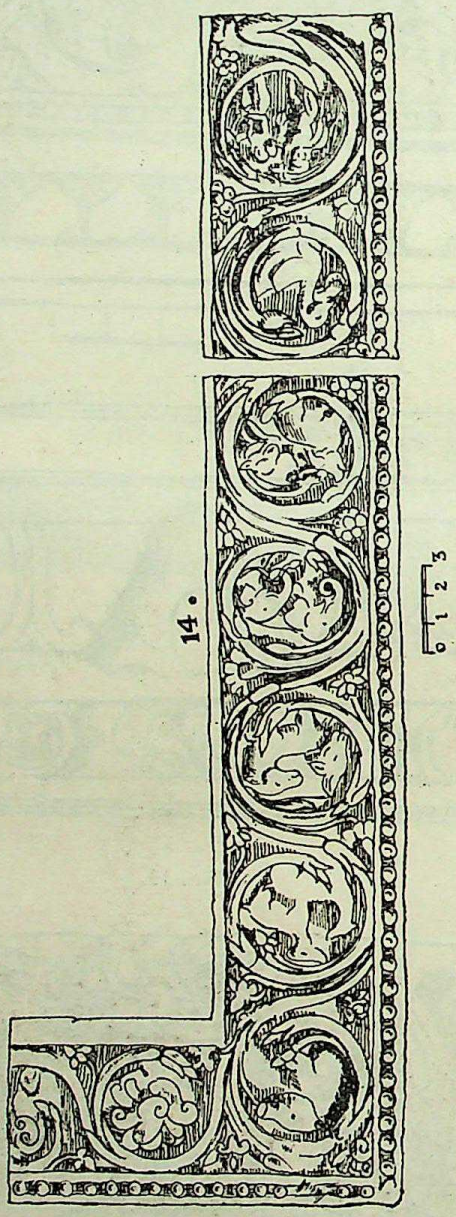

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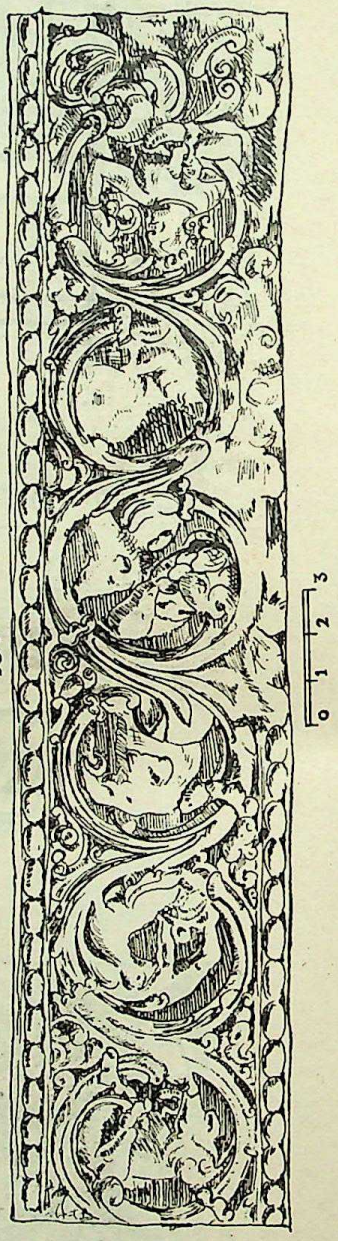

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PLATE IX

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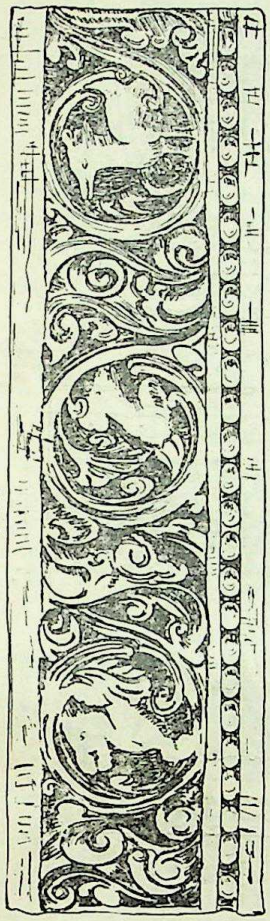

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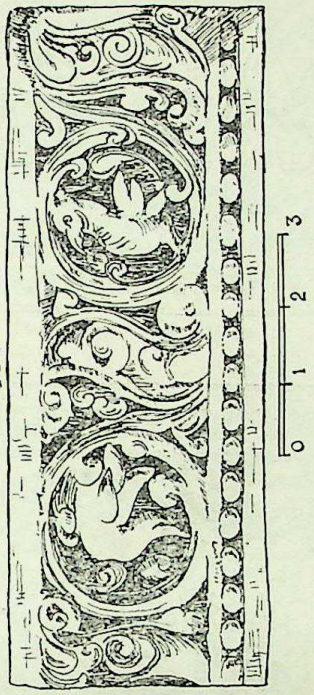

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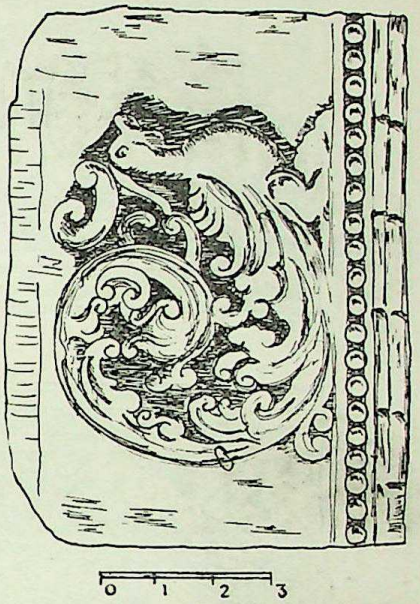

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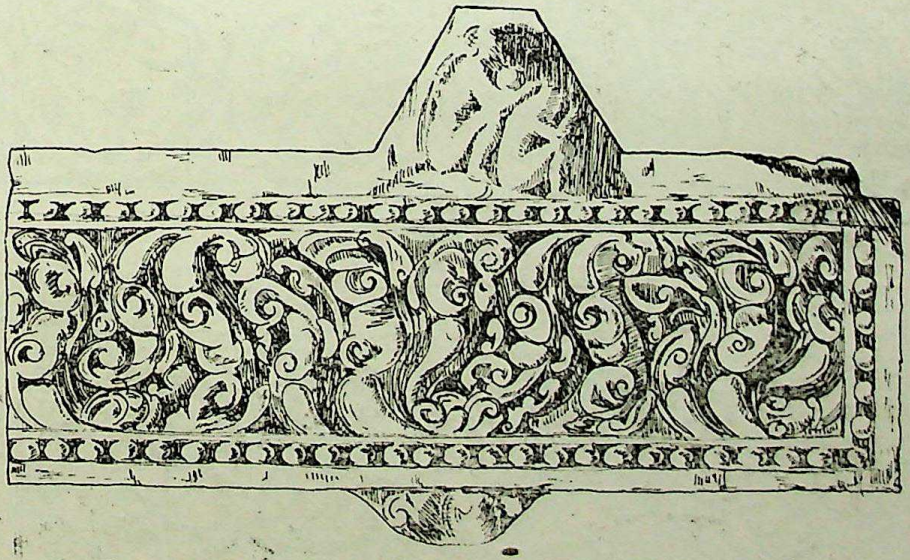

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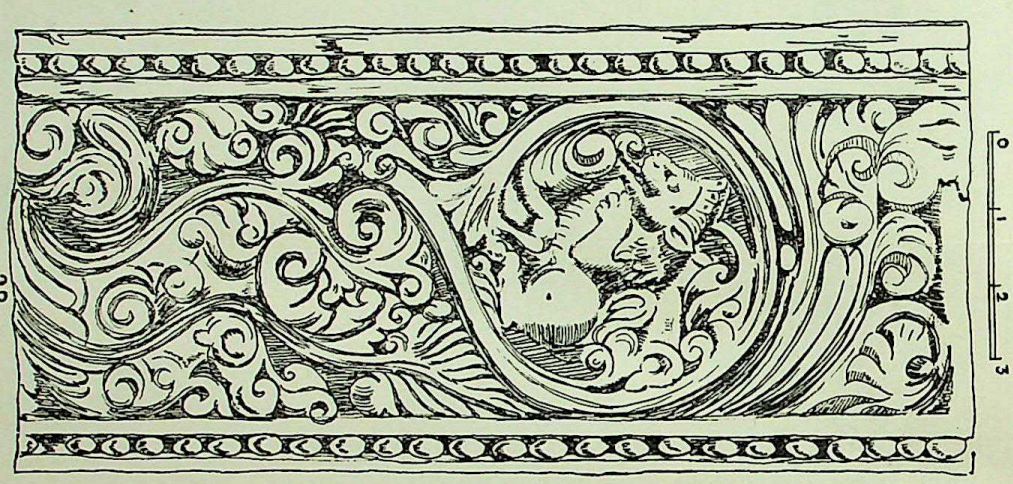

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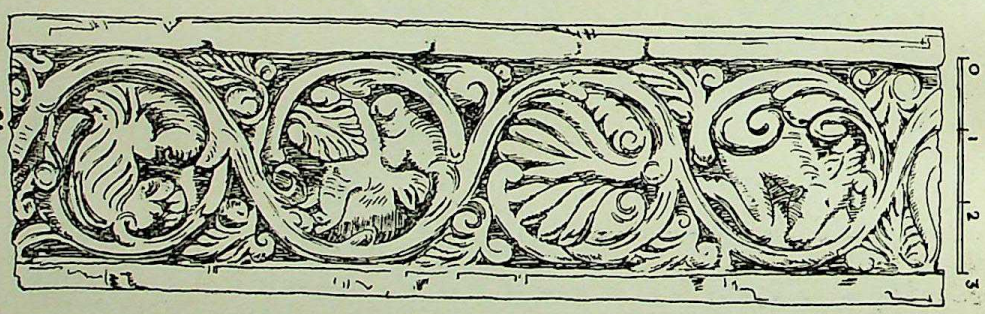

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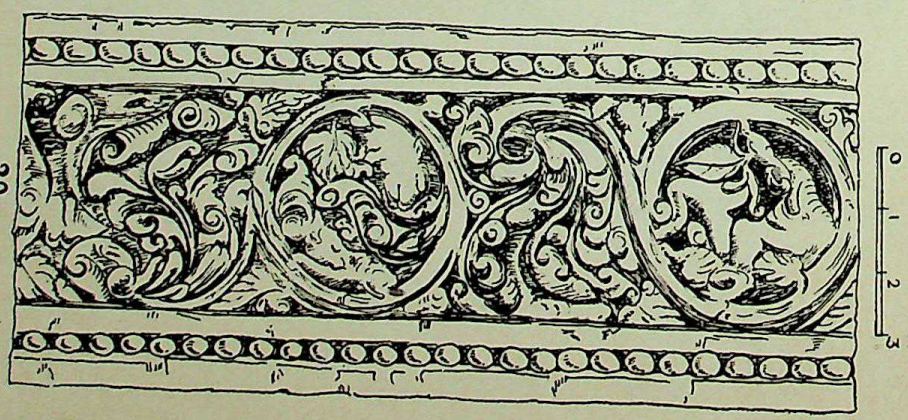

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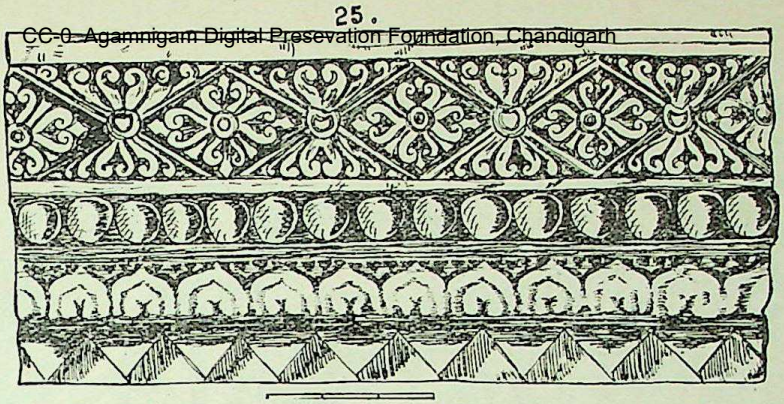

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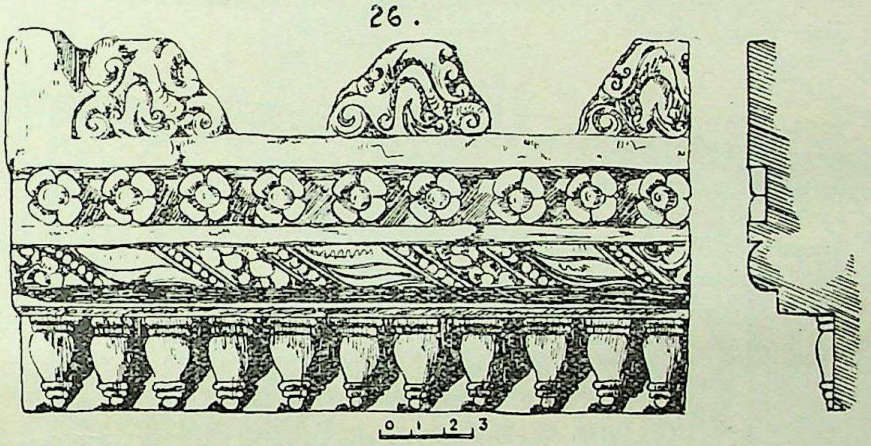

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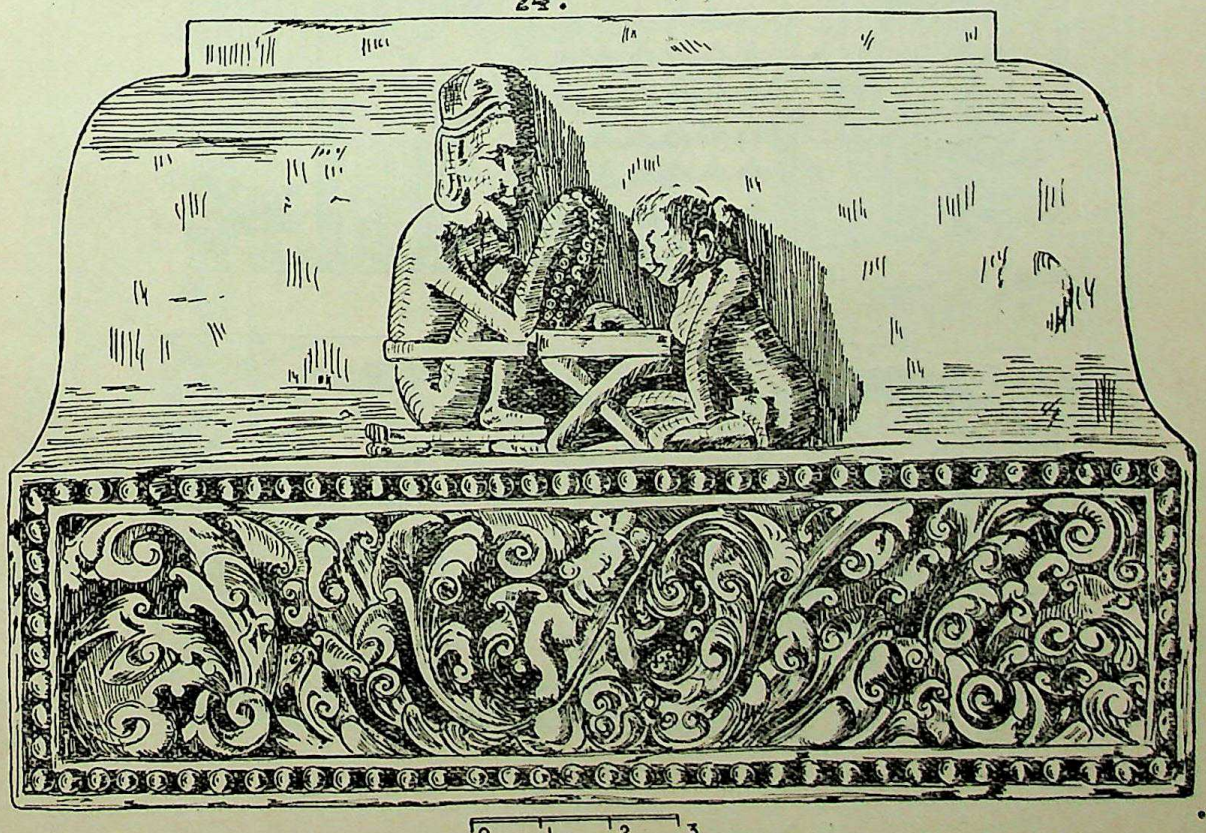

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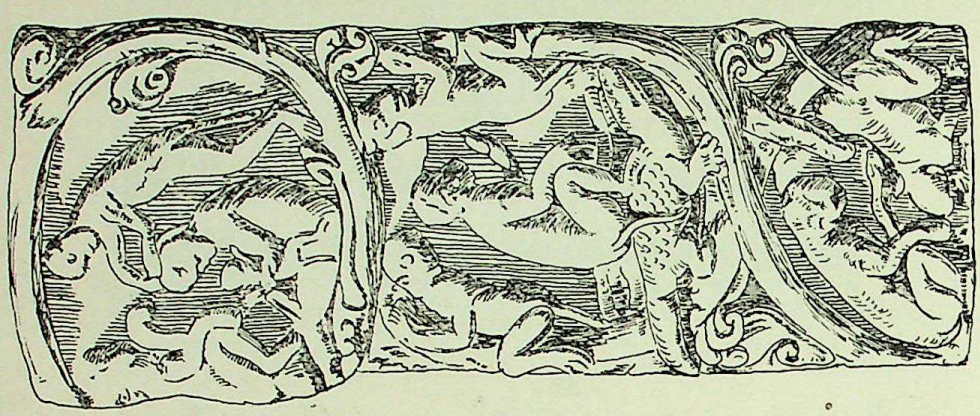

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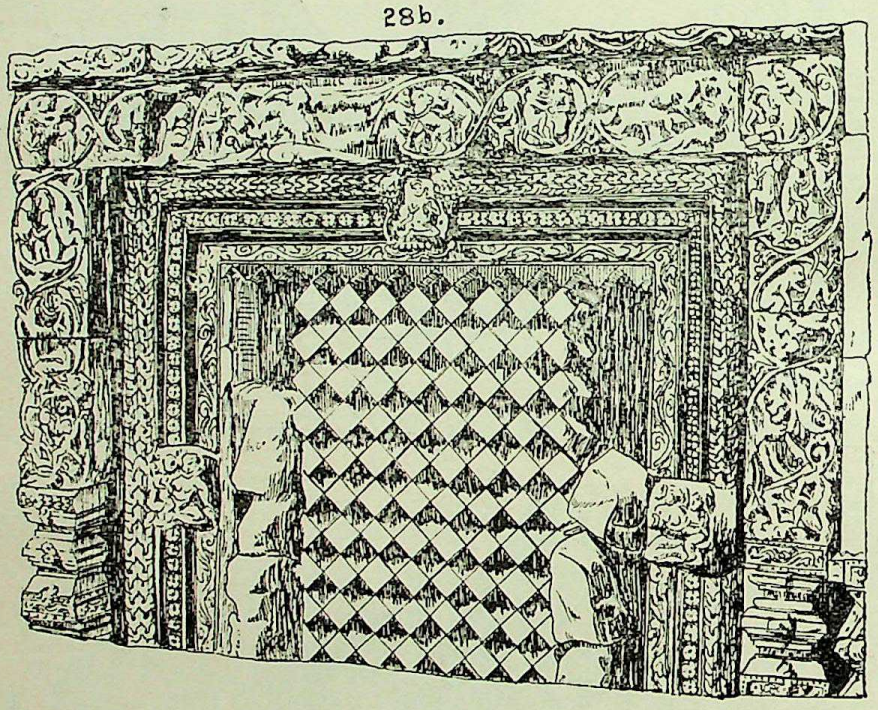

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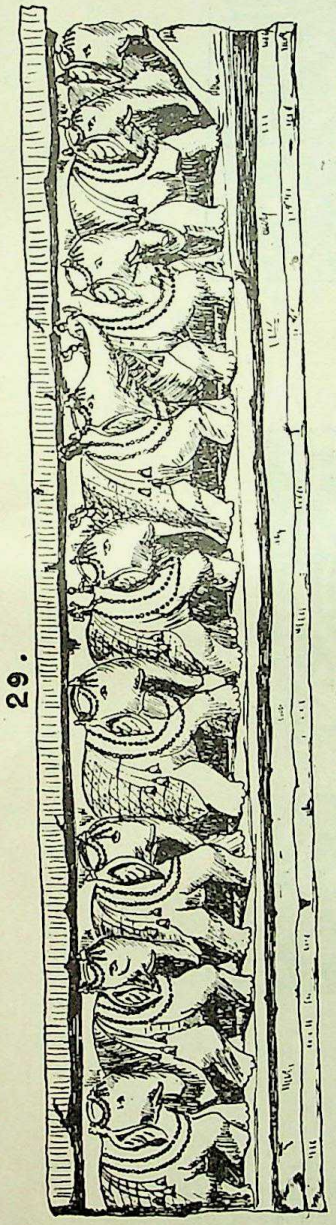

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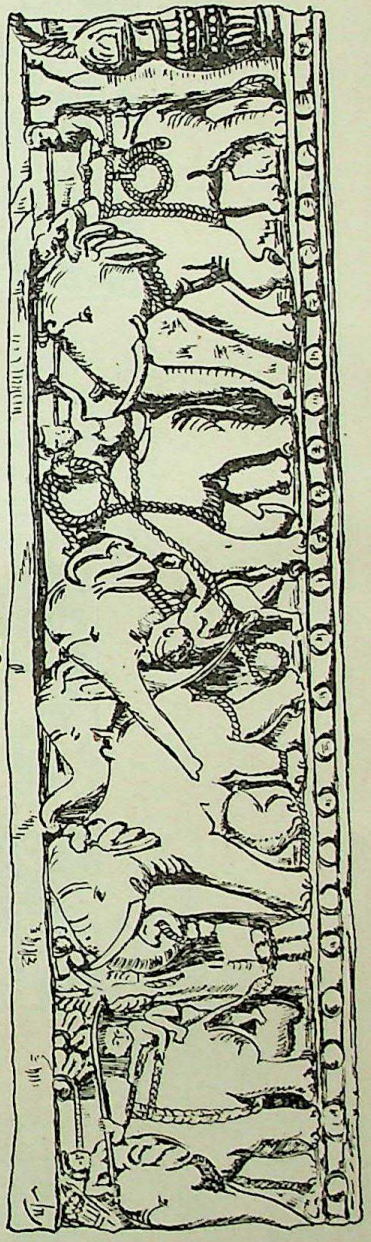

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PLATE XIV

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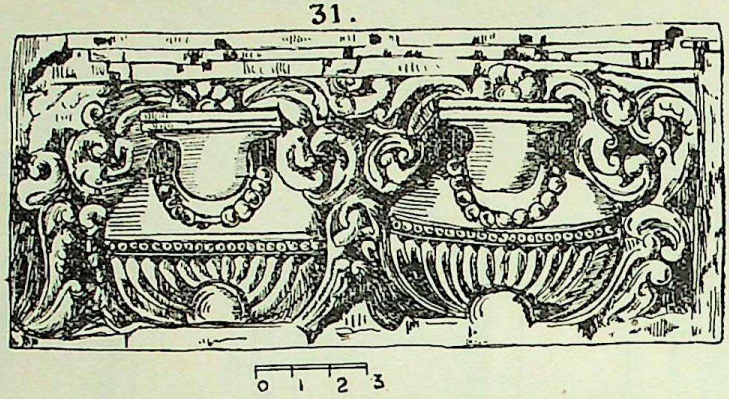

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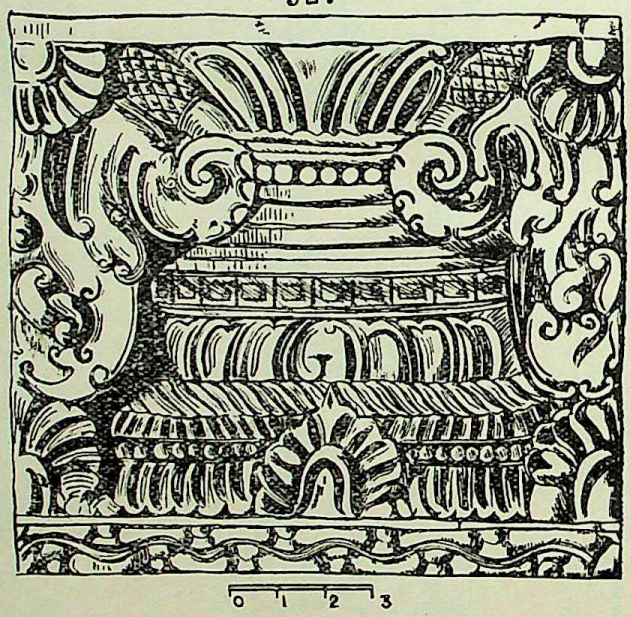

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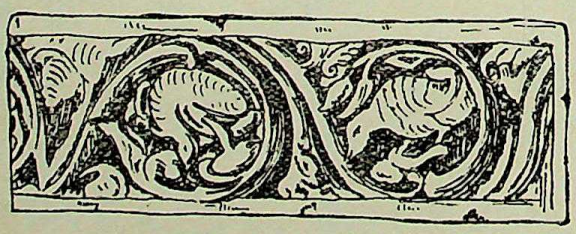

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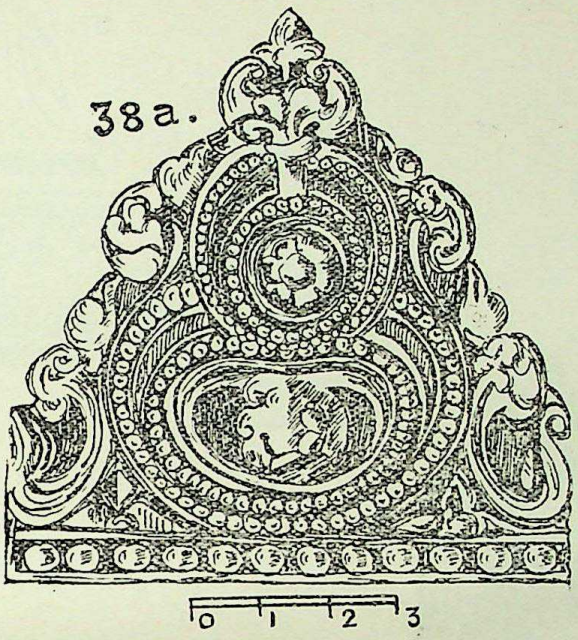

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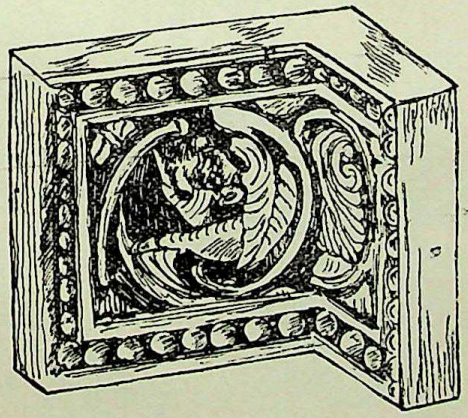

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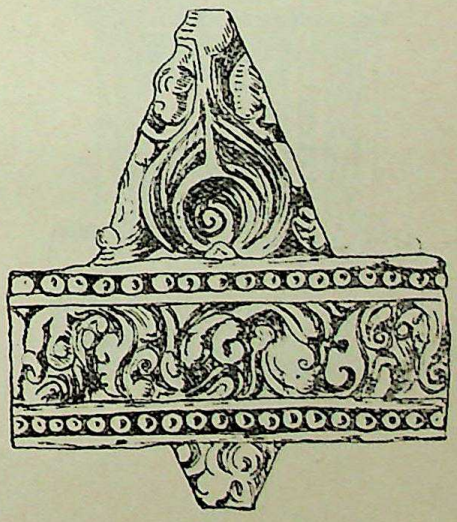

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PLATE XV

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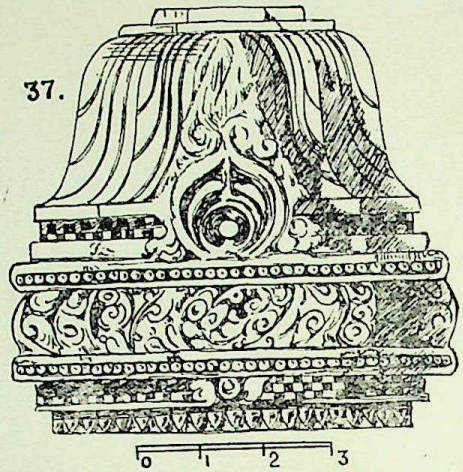

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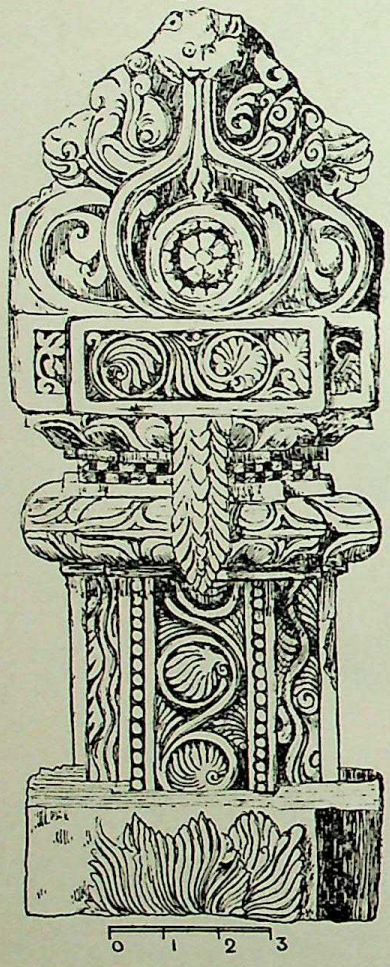

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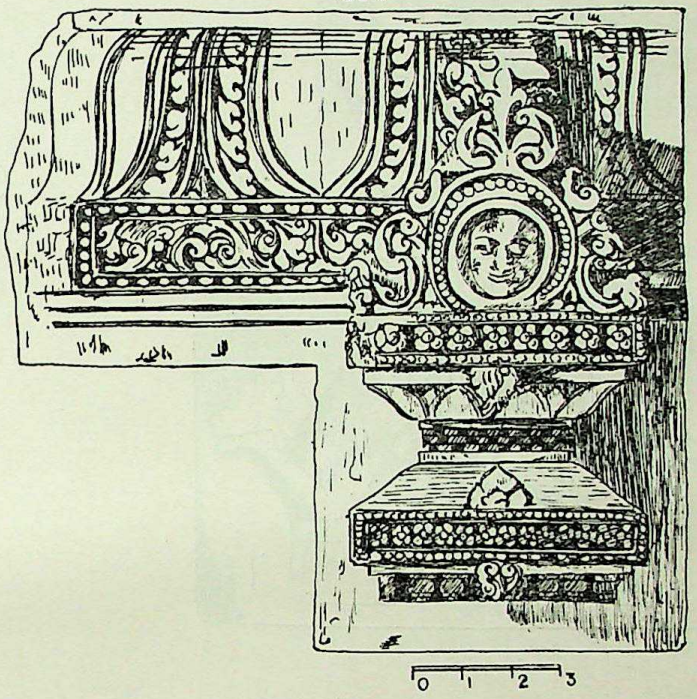

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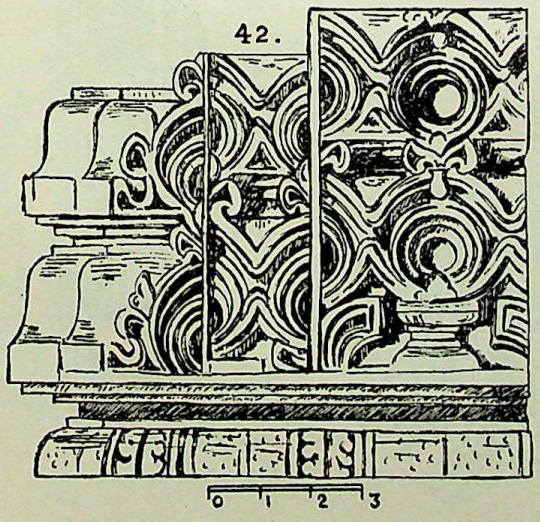

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PLATE XVI

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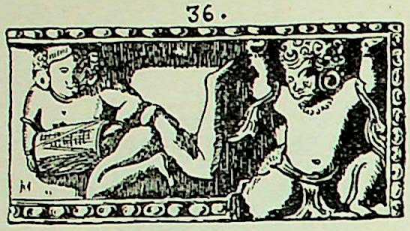

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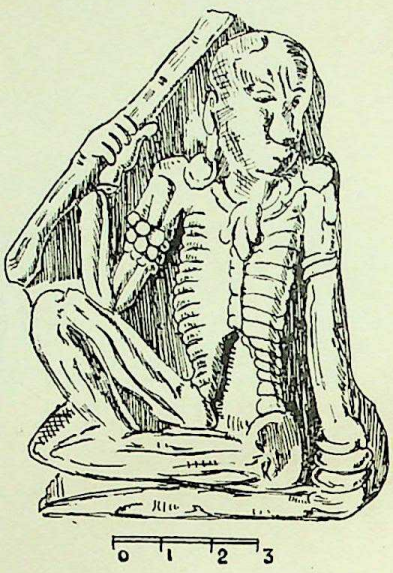

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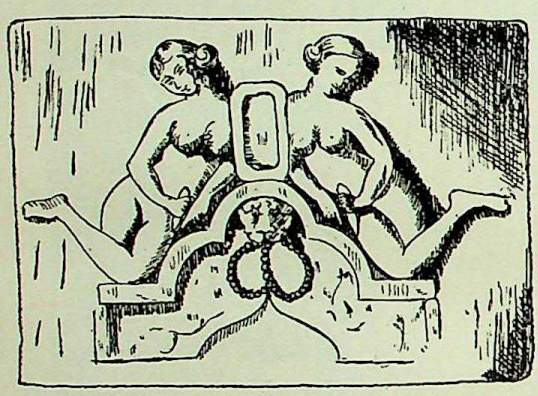

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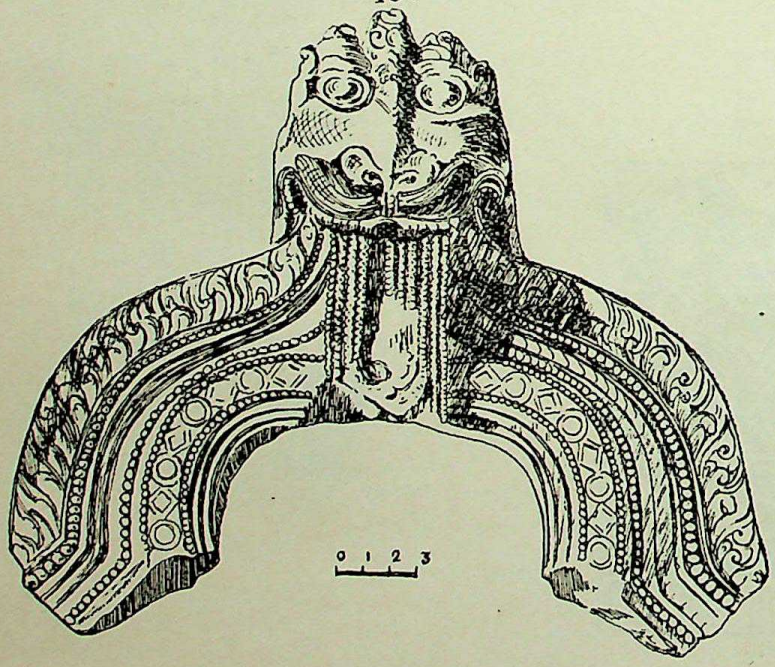
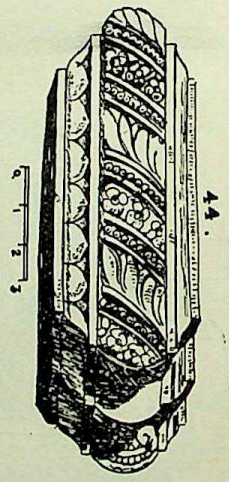




44.

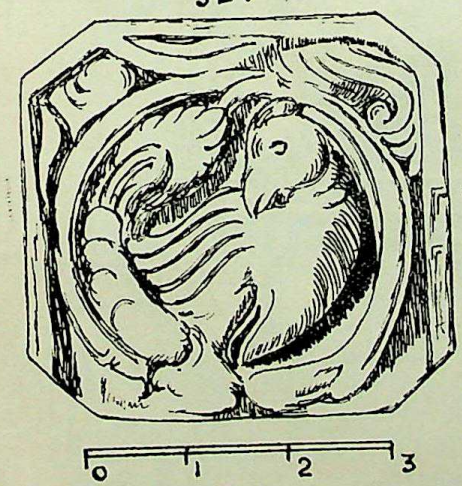
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XVII

50.

51.

52.

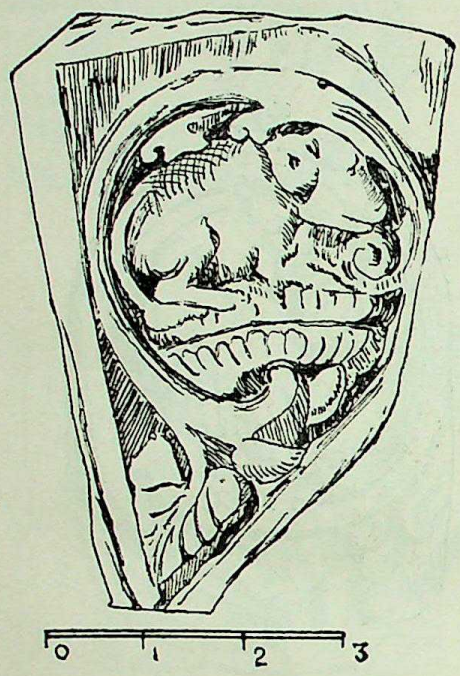


53.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XVII (Contd.)

49.



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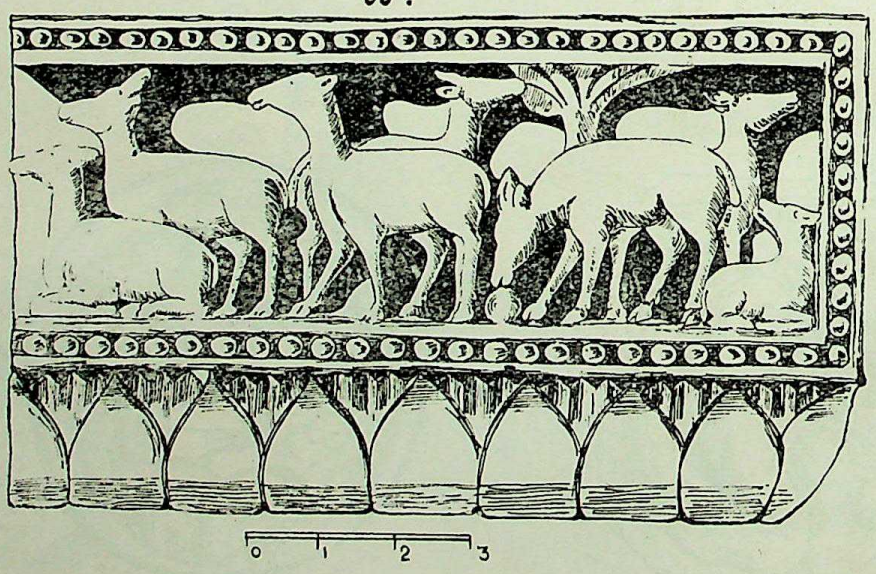
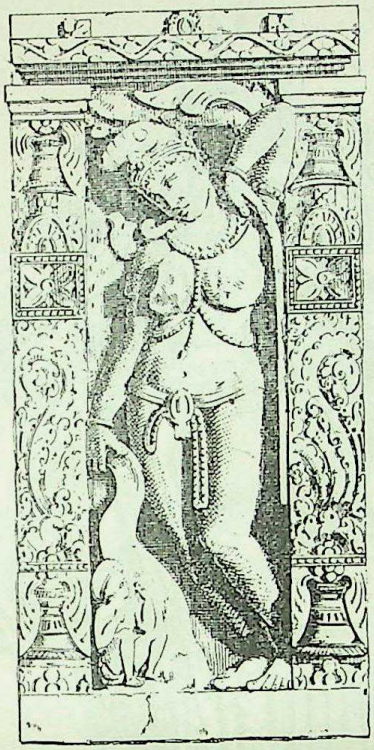
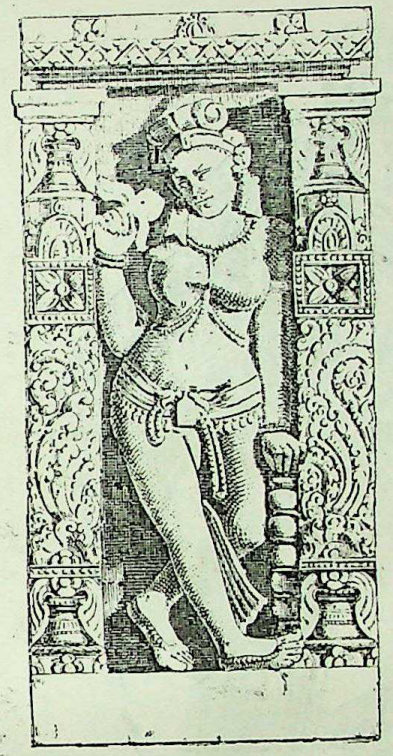
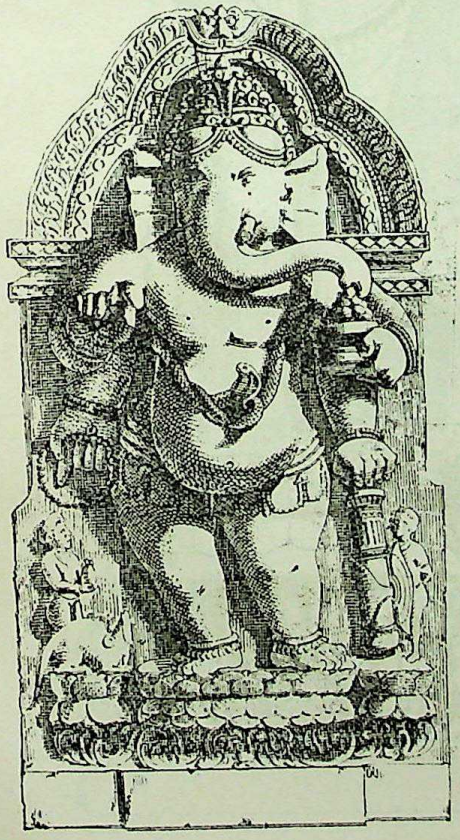
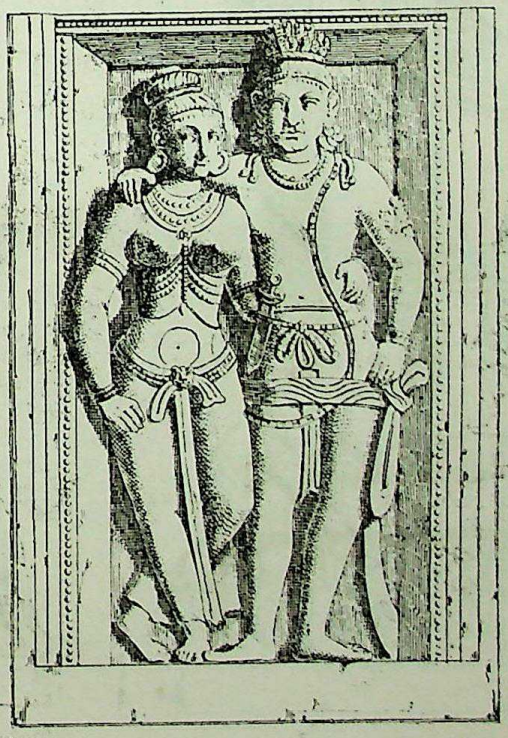


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



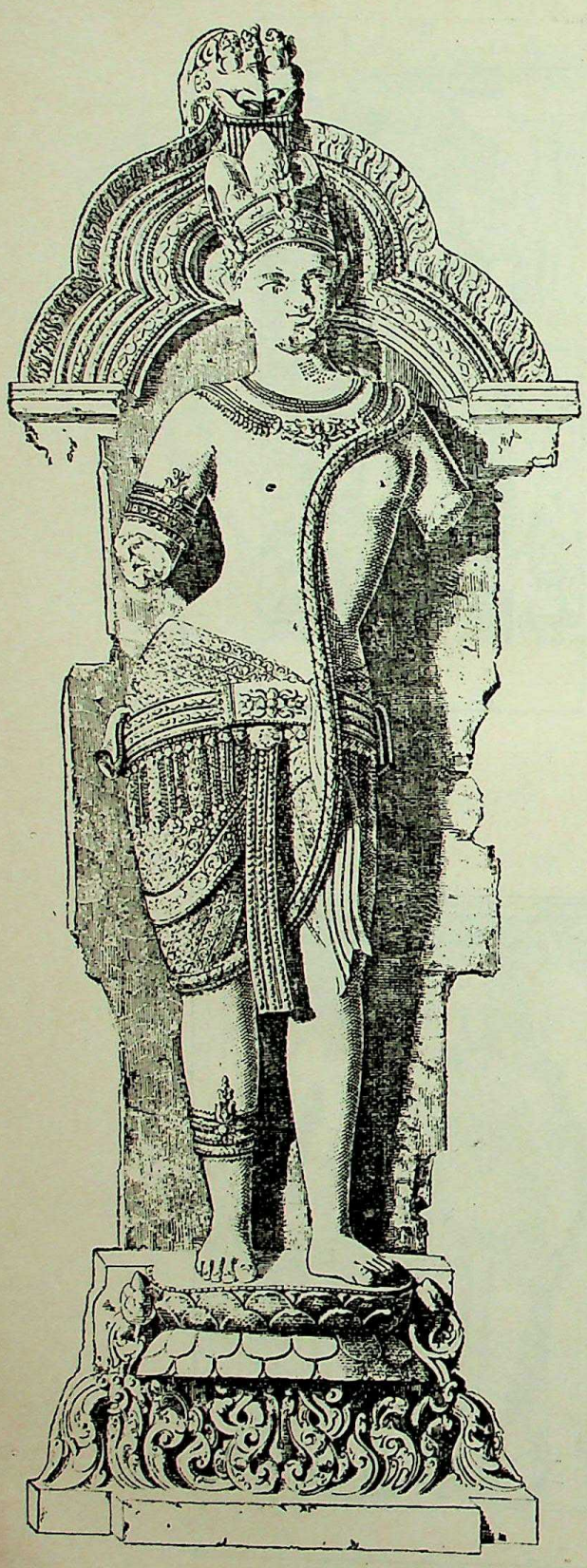






Nos. 59, 60, 61 & 58

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



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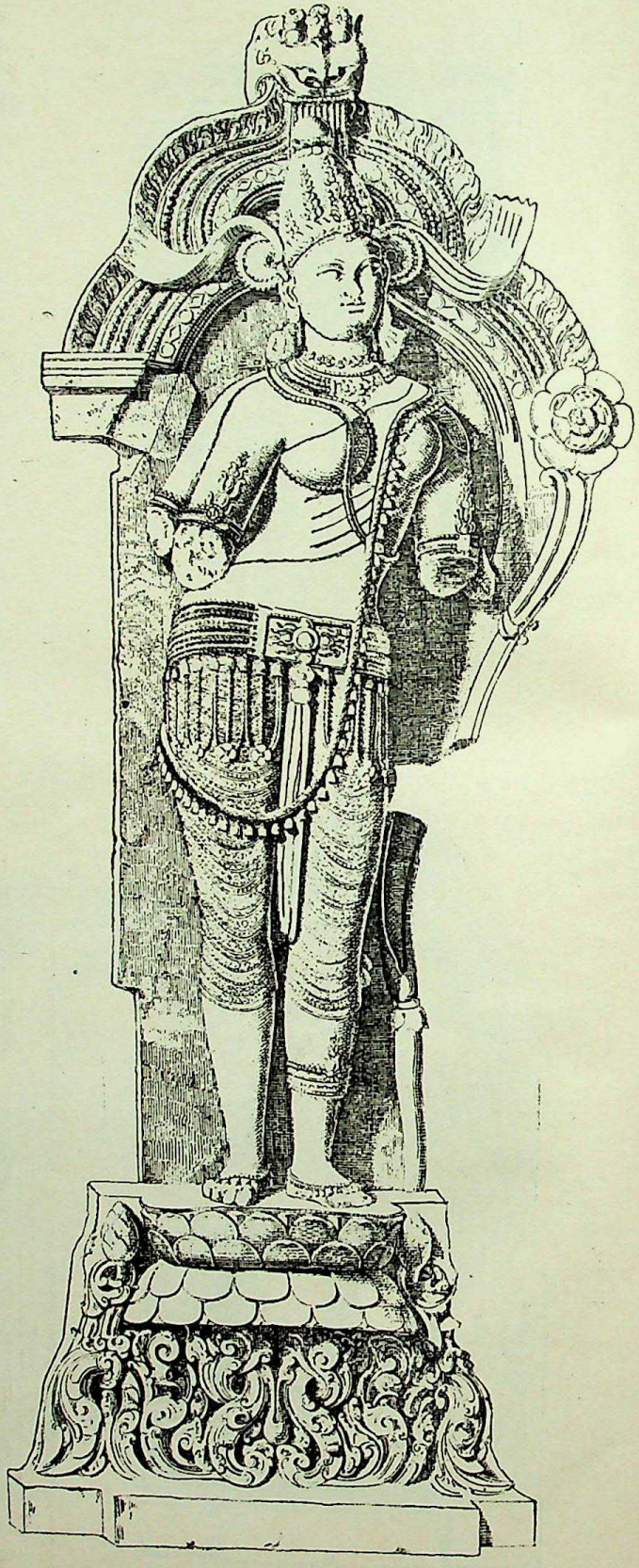

63

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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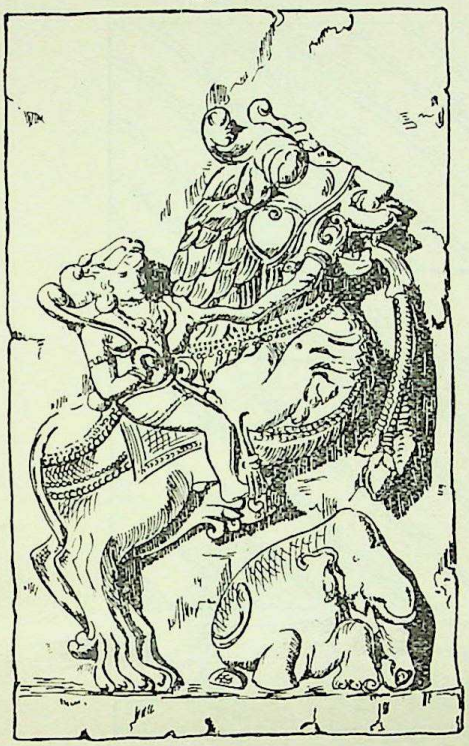

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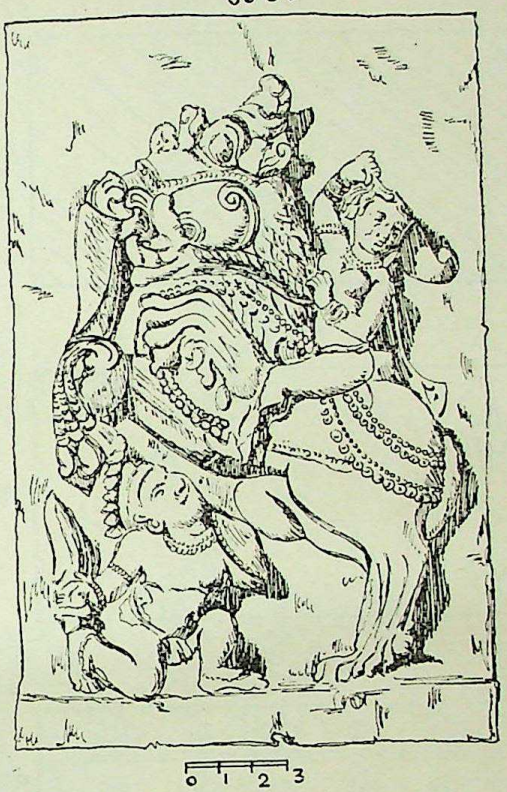

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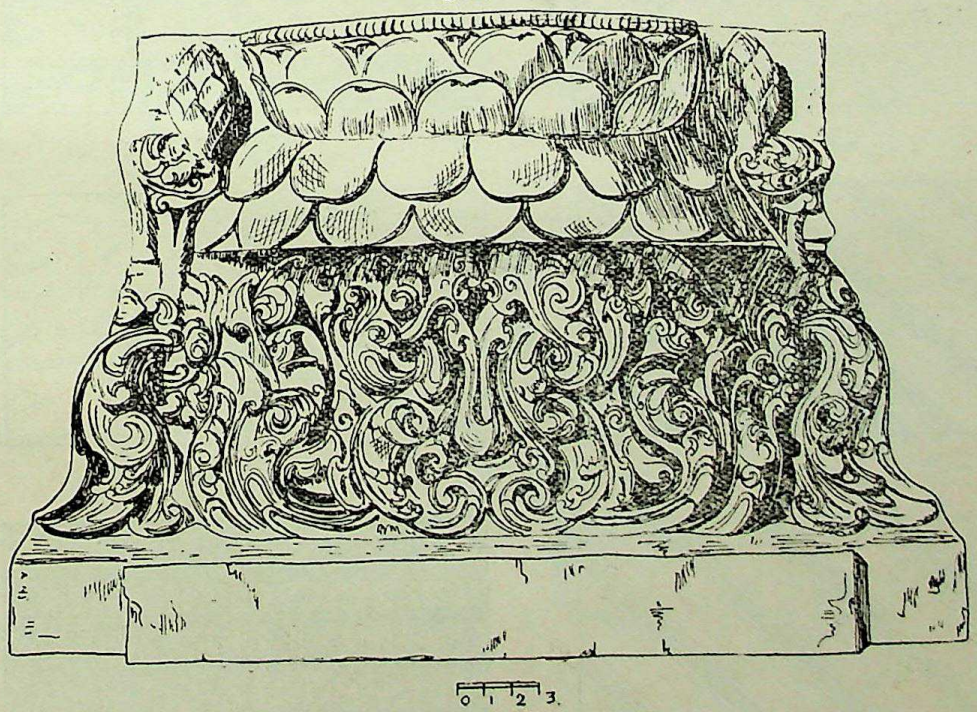
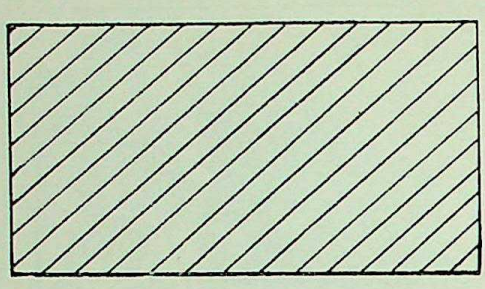


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXI

70.



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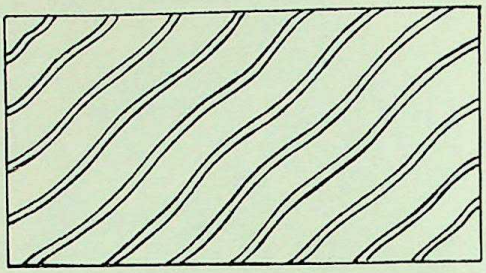

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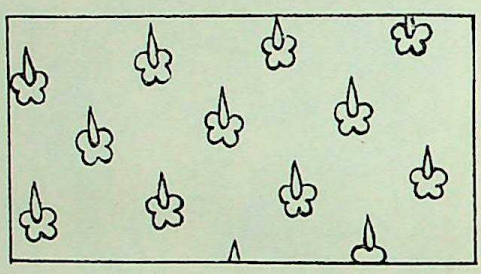

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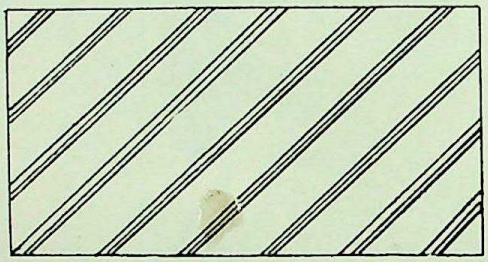

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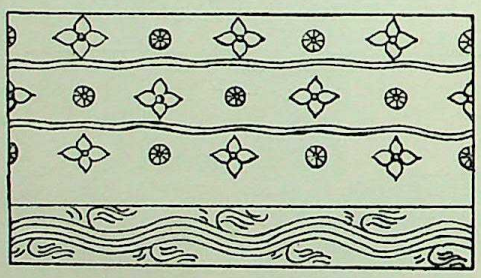

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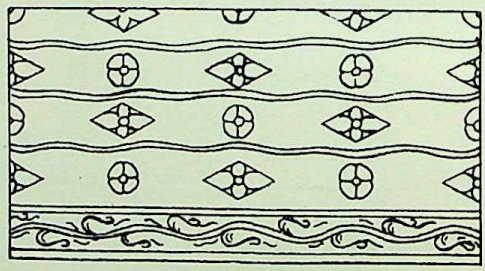

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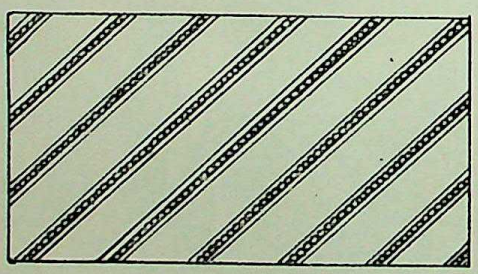

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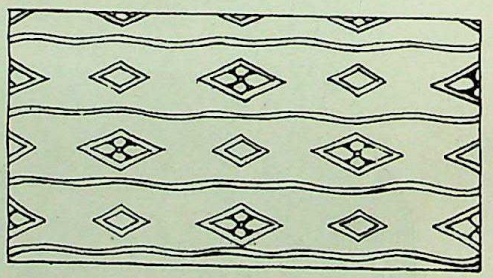

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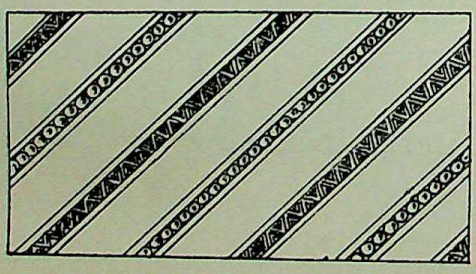

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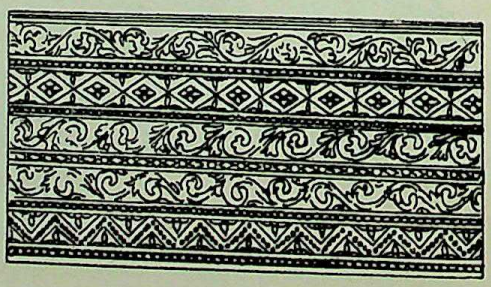

PLATE XXII

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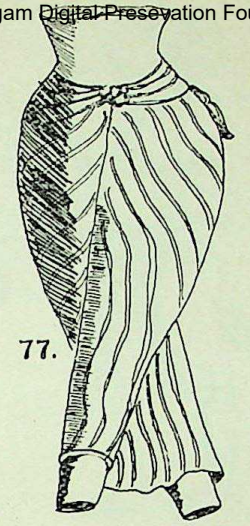
76.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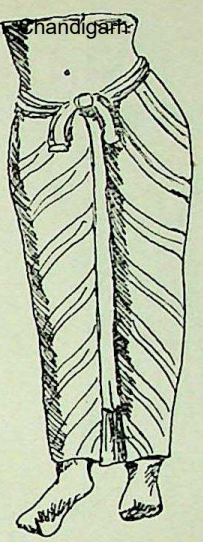
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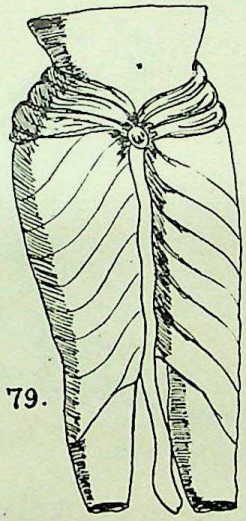
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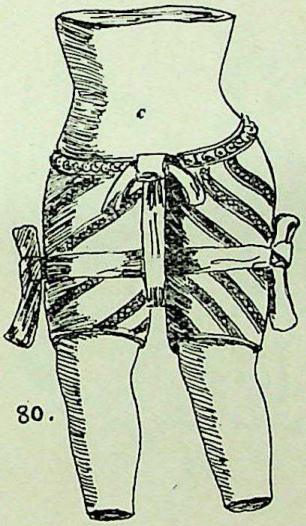
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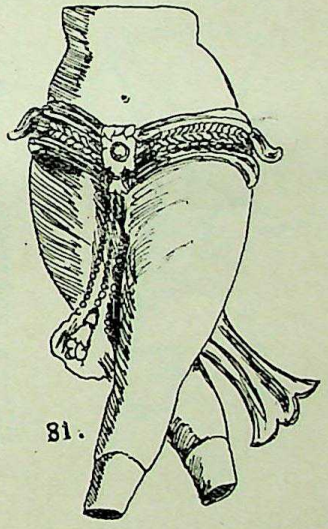
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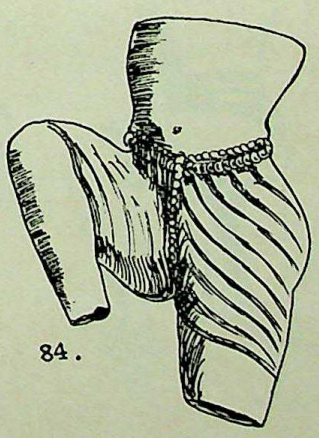
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86.

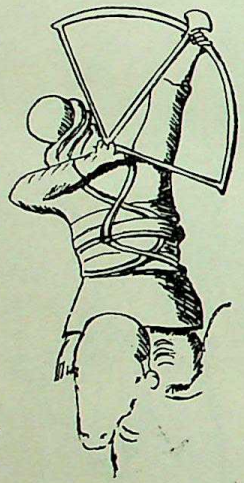
PLATE XXIII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

90.

83.

89.



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91.

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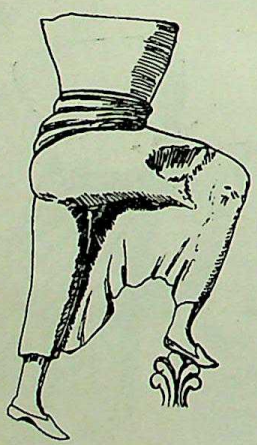


94a.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXIV

Plate *XXIV* is too
indistinct to be
reproduced

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

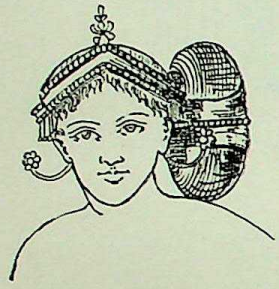
PLATE XXV

95.

97.

98.

96.



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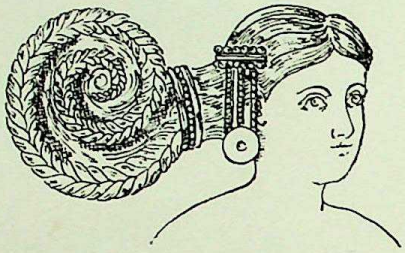

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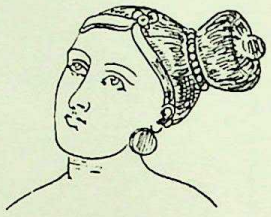
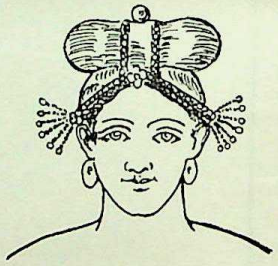


101.

102.

103.



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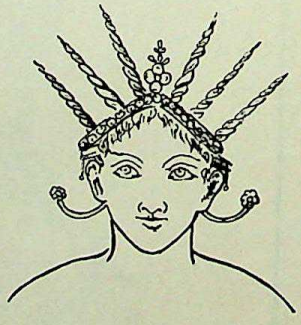
105.

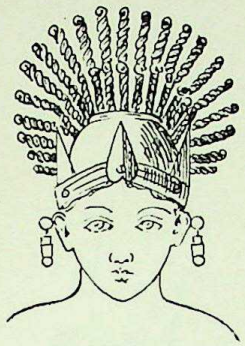
106.



107.

PLATE XXVI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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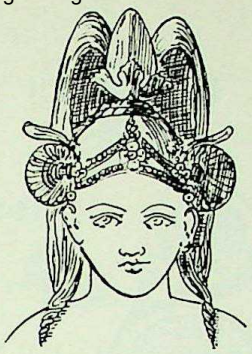

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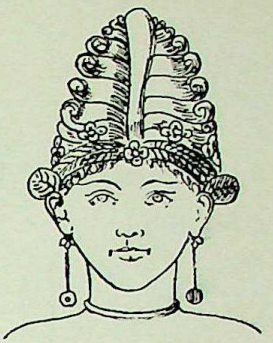


110.

111.

112.

115.

115 a.

116.

114.

113.

117.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVII

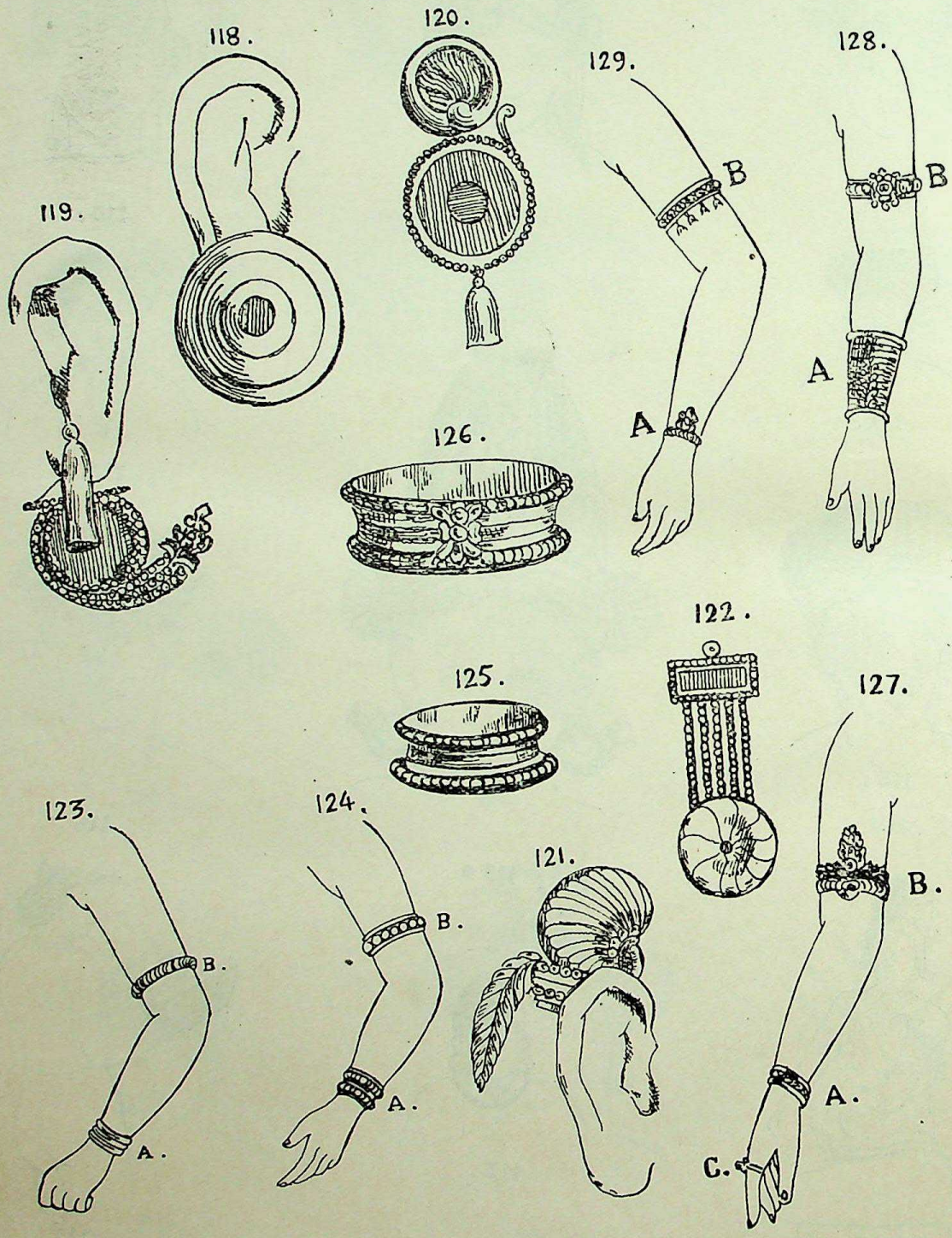
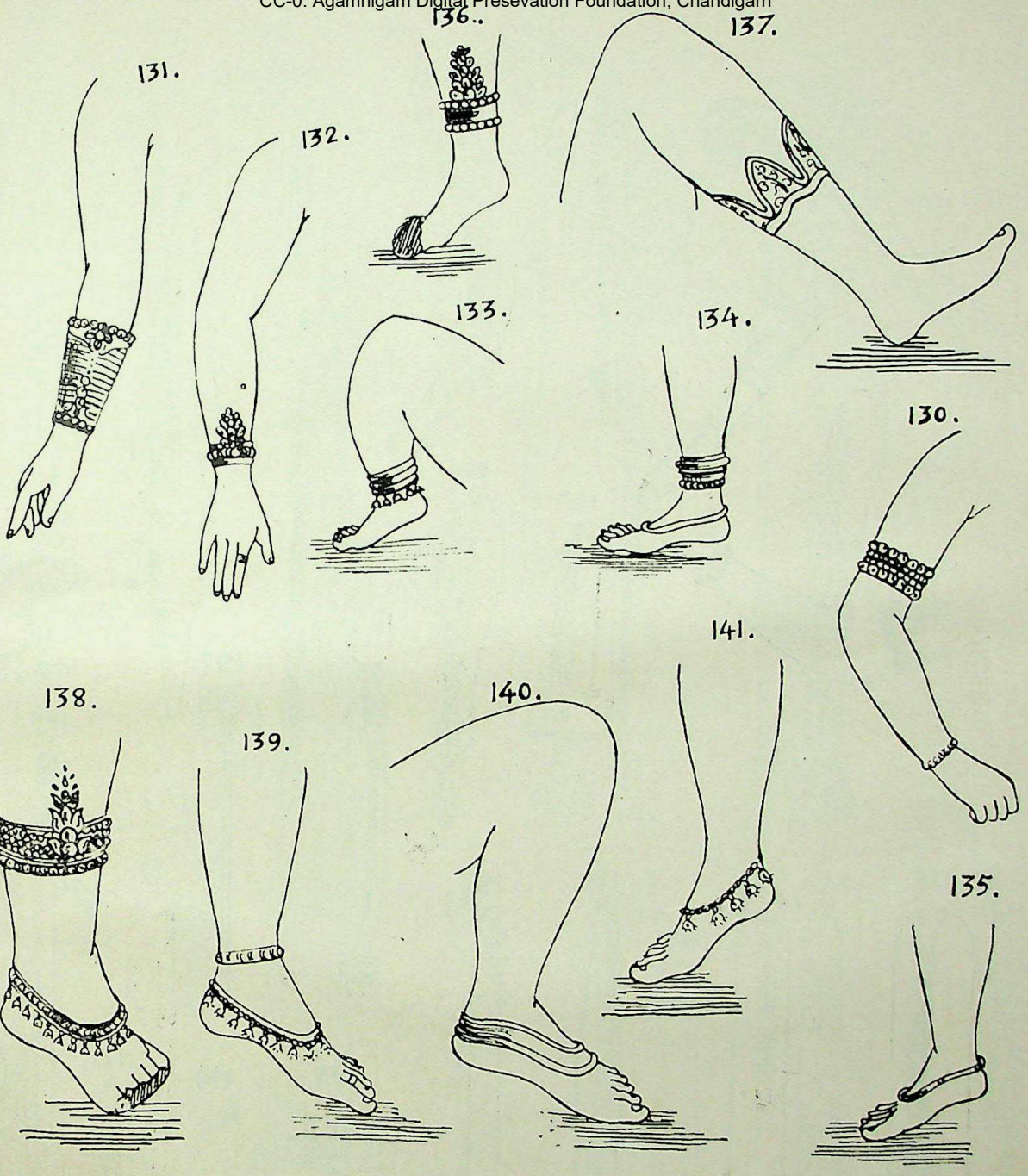


PLATE XXVIII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XIX.

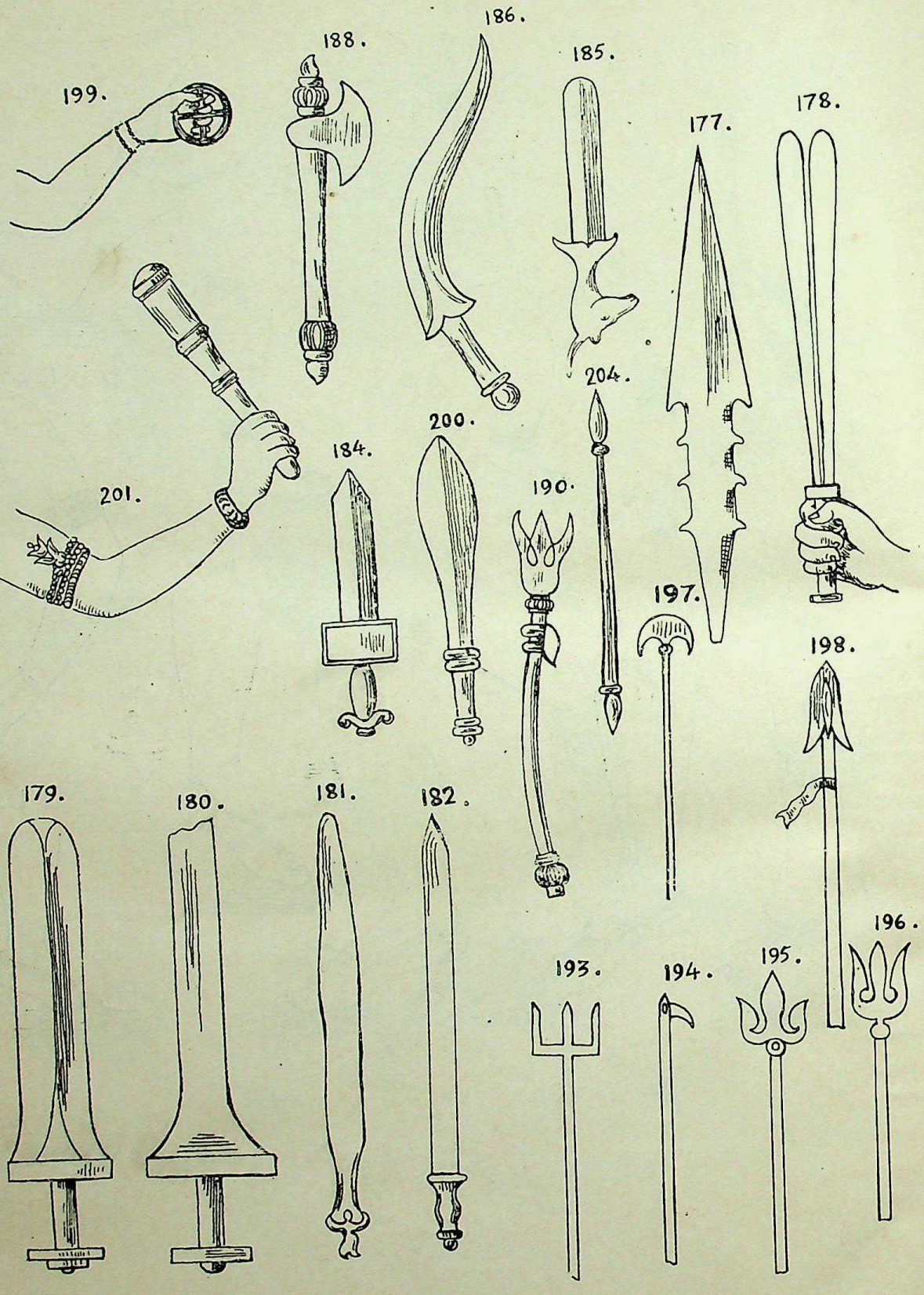
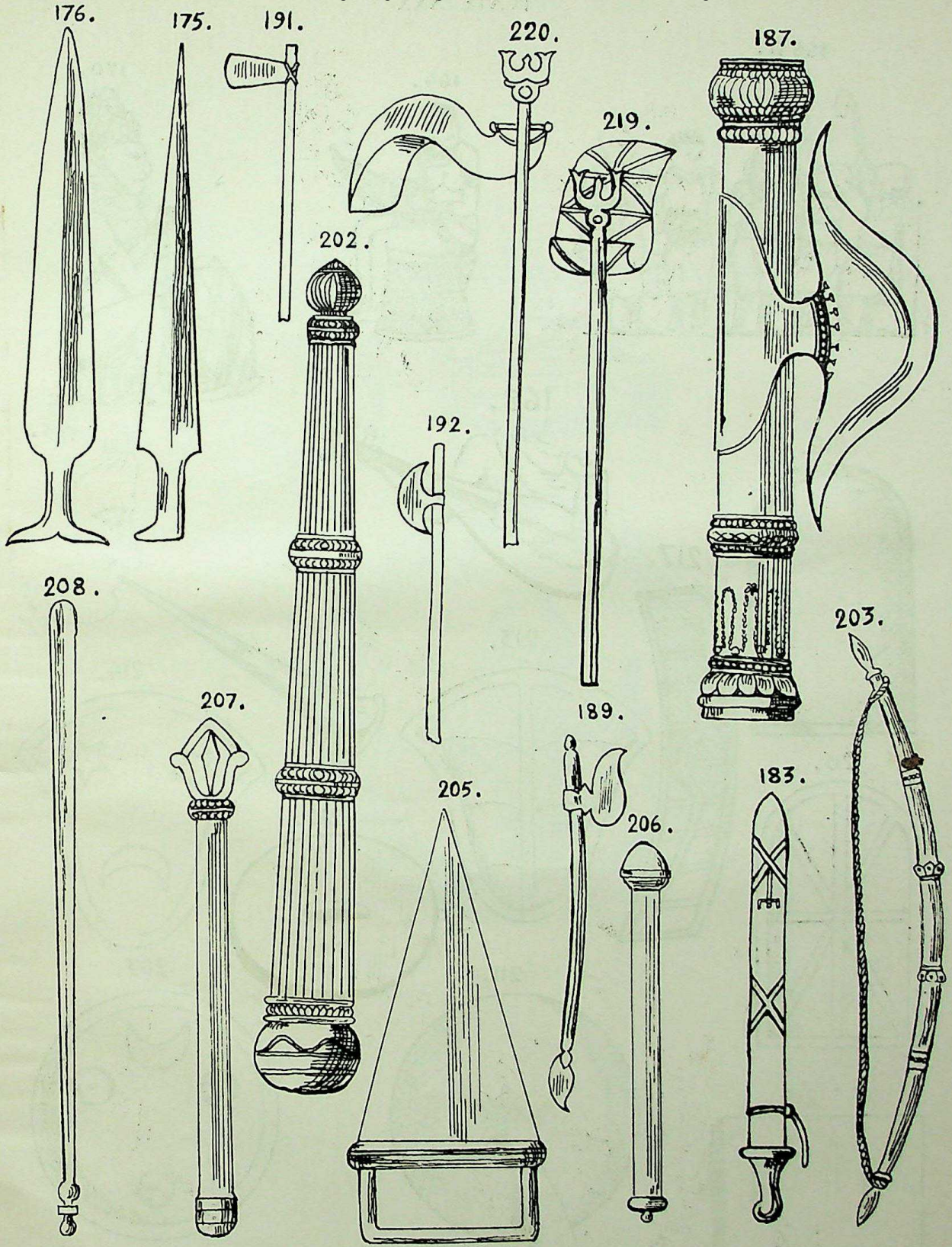


PLATE XXIX (Contd.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

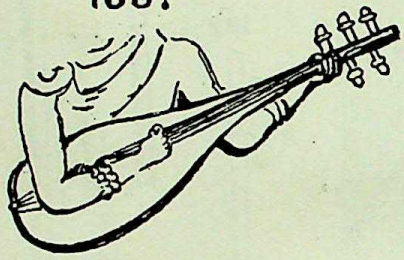
PLATE XXX

166 a.

164.

170.

168.



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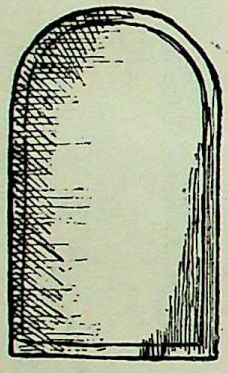

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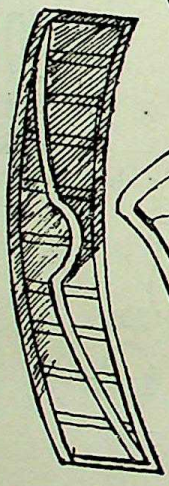

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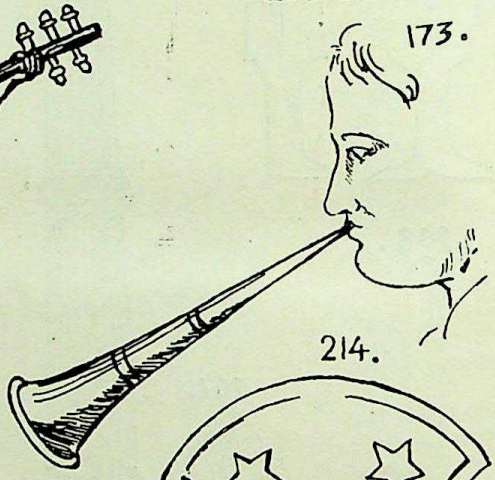

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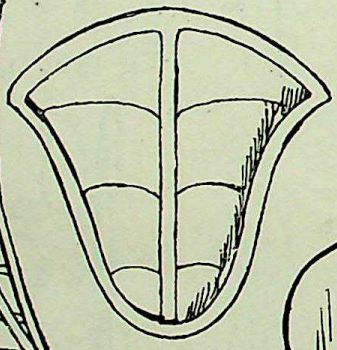

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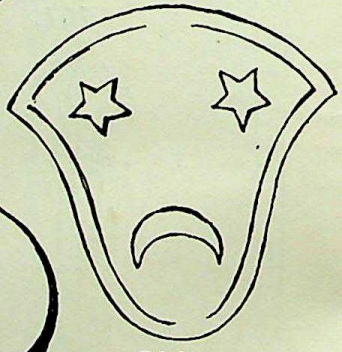

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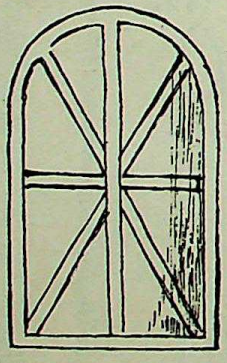

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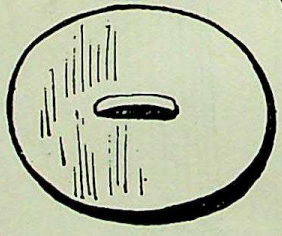

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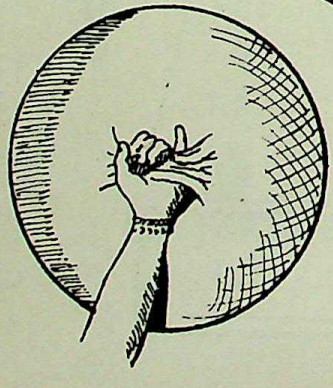

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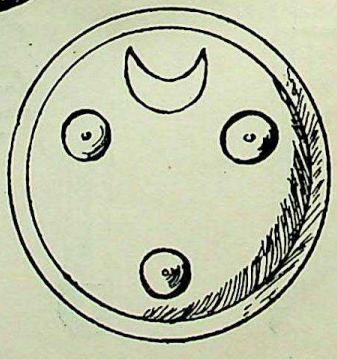

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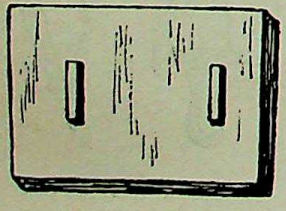

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PLATE XXX (Contd.)

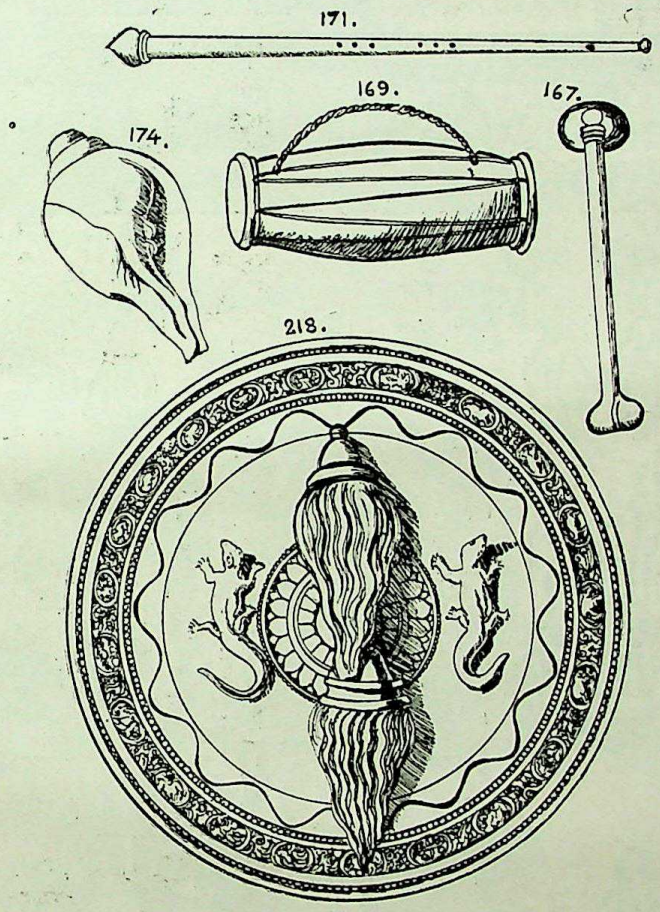


PLATE XXXI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

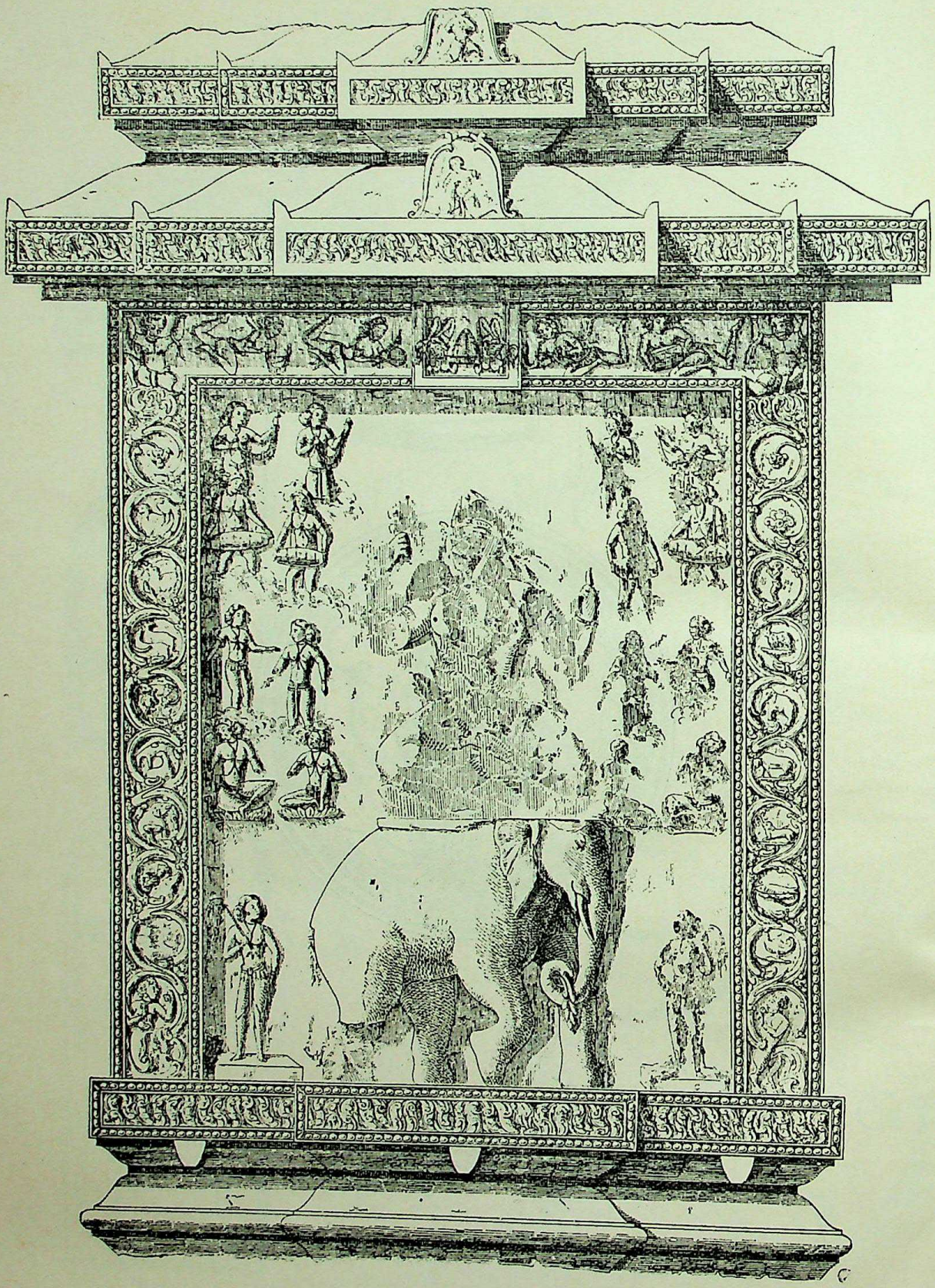
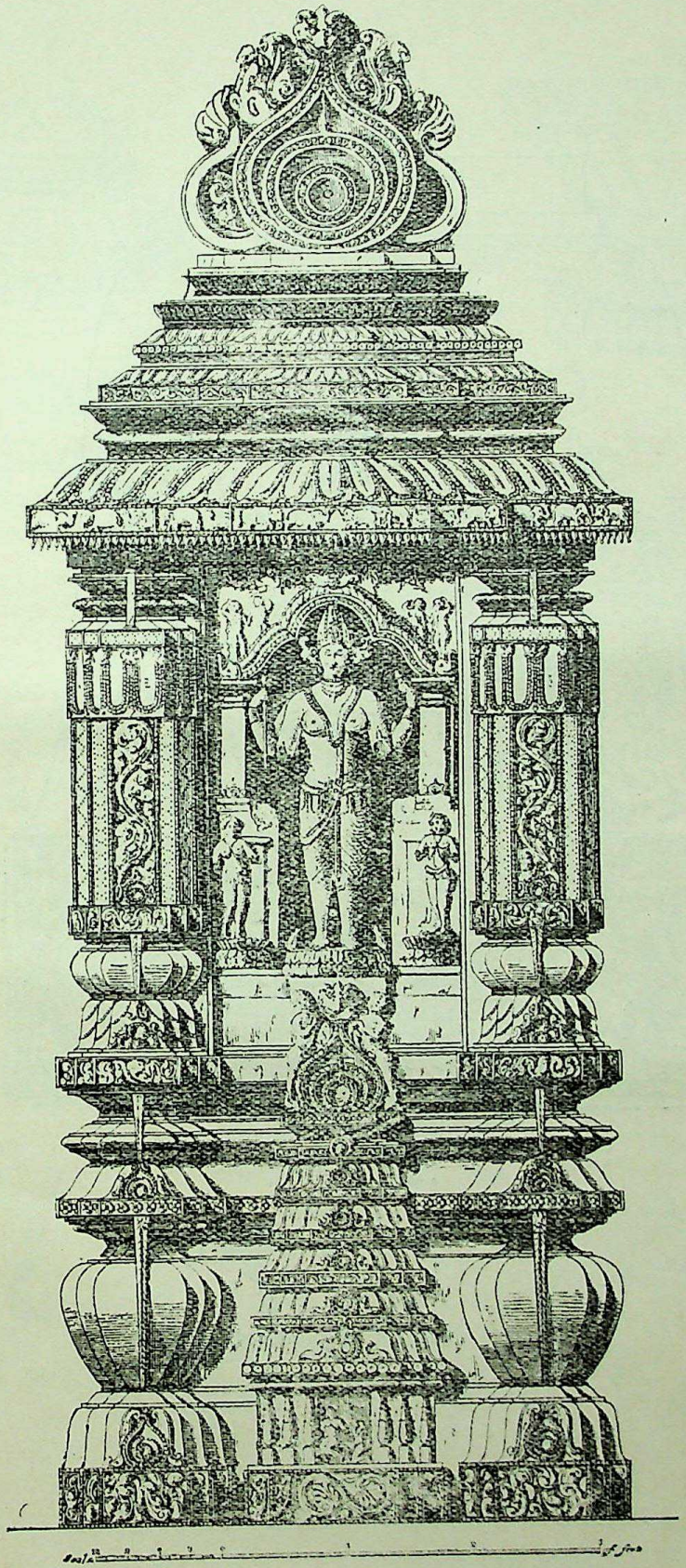


PLATE XXXII

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

46b.

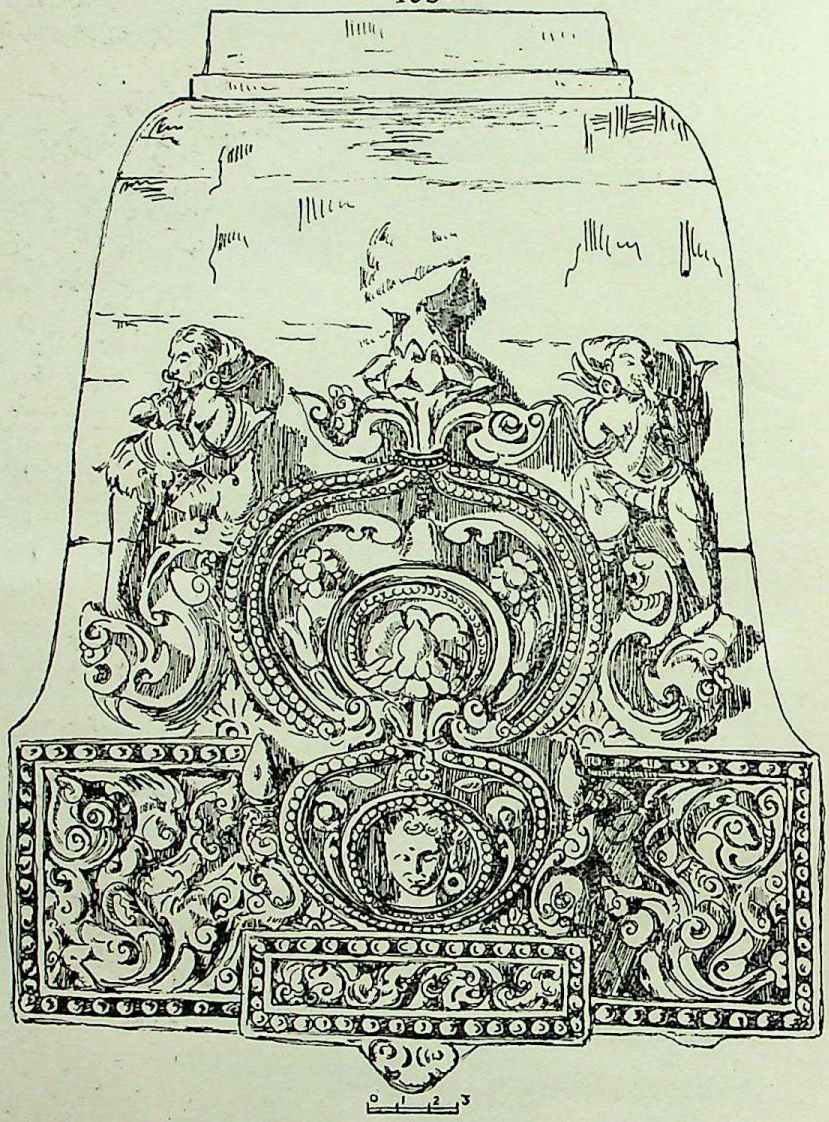


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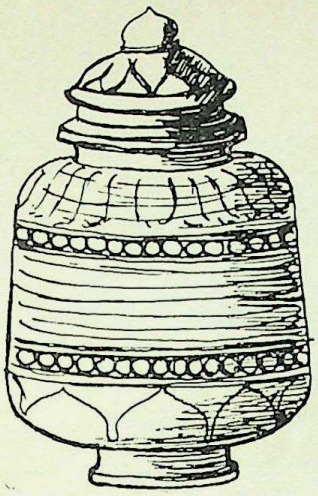
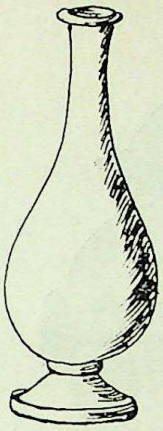
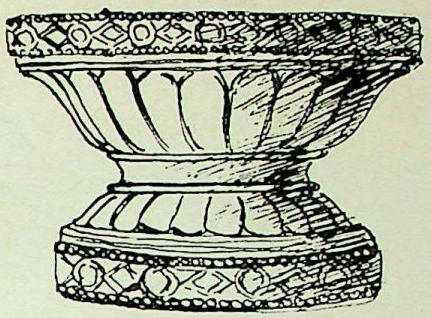
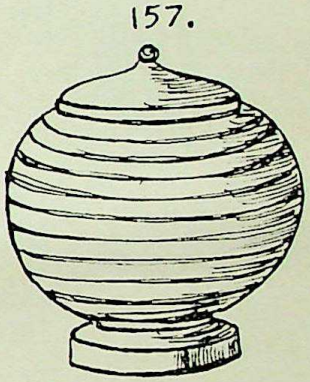
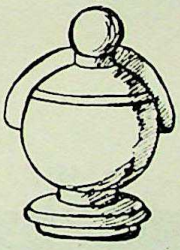
PLATE XXXIV

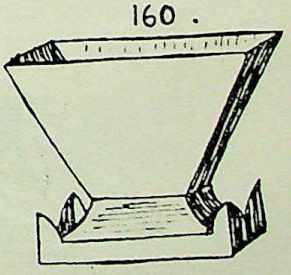


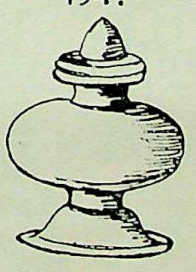












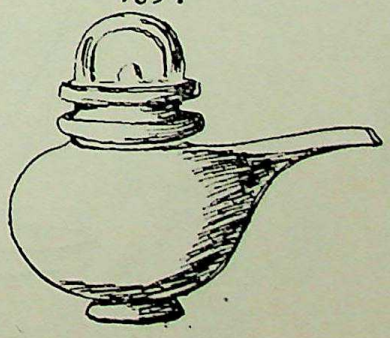


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PLATE XXXIV (Contd.)

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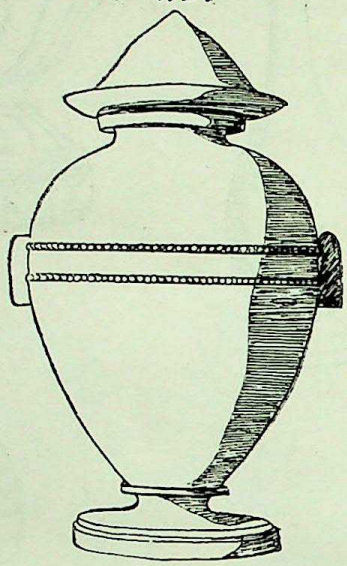

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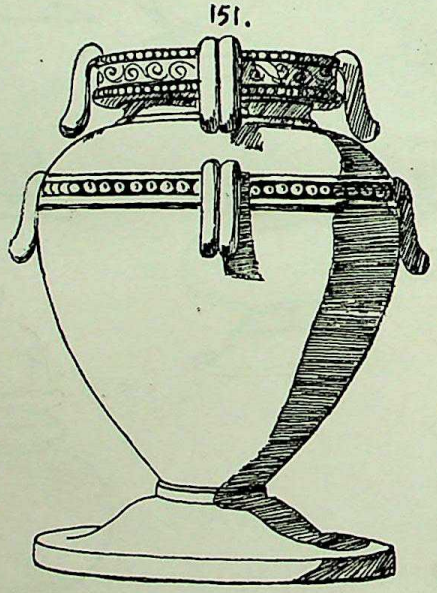

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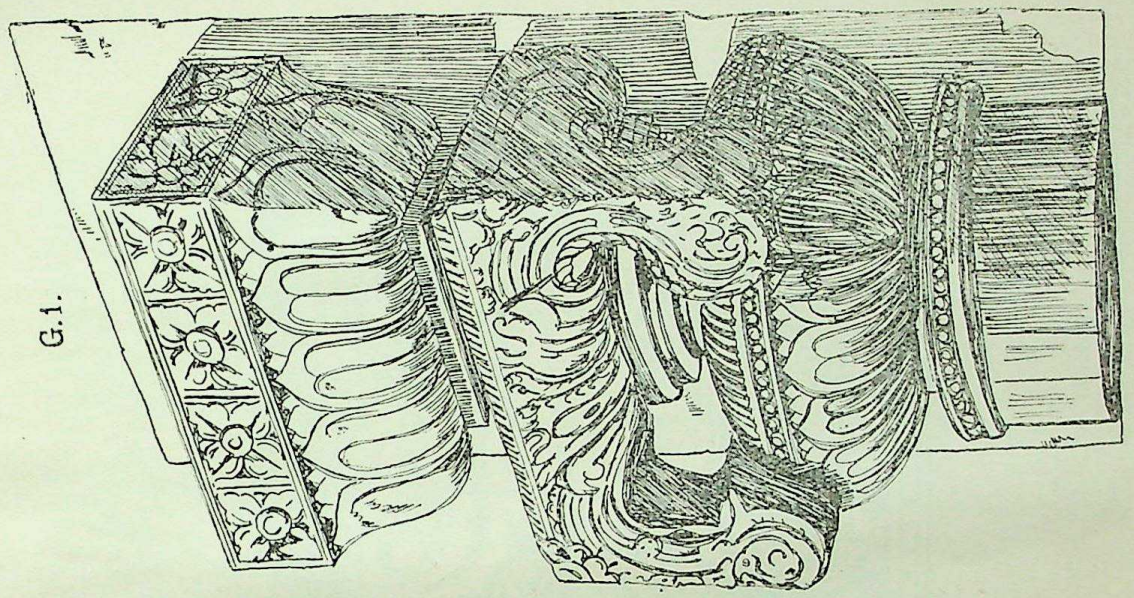
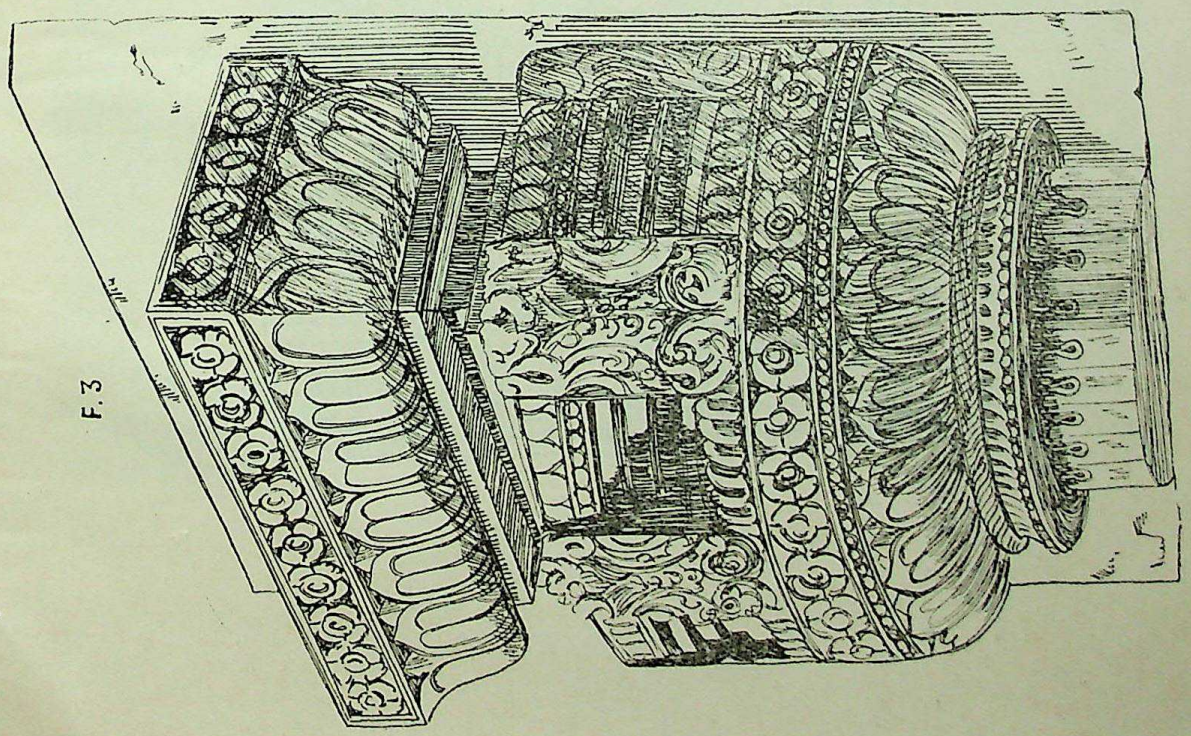
PLATE XXXV



G.1.



F.3

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144.

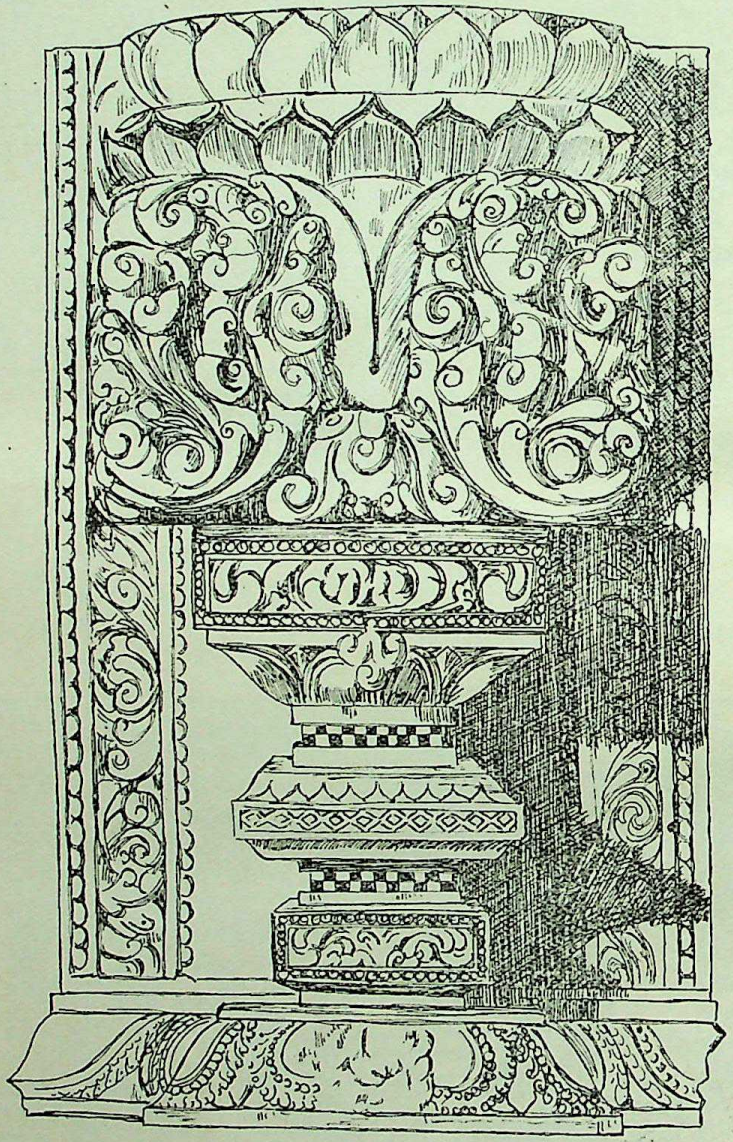

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PLATE XXXVI (Contd.)

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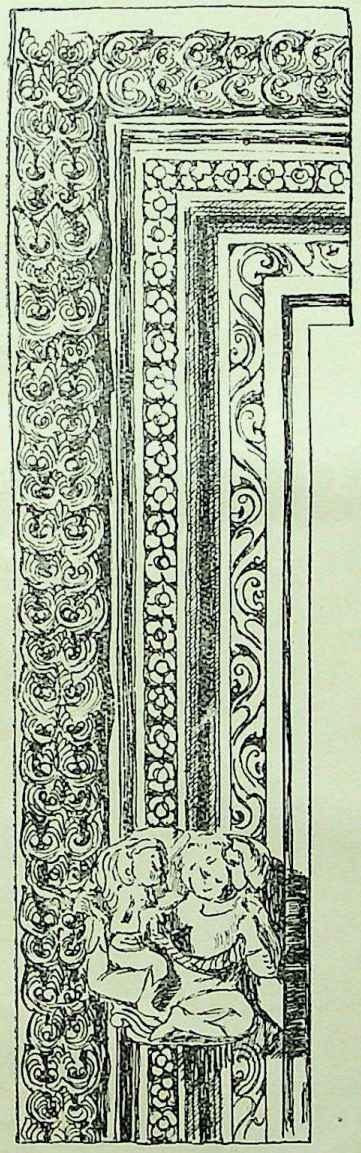

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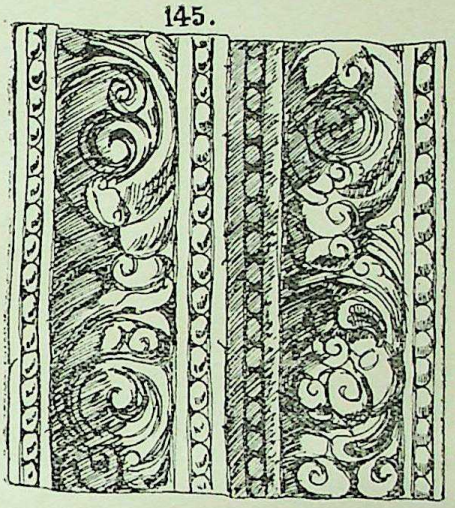

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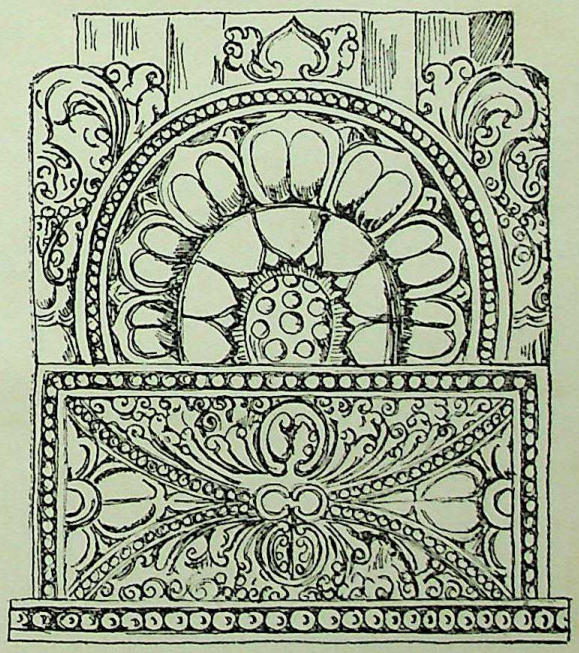

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